

**Ross Dowson archives – correspondence – Year 1947, Jan - May**

General correspondence incl. Montreal and Windsor, Ontario

01\_14 Letter to Comrade (George) Breitman (SWP, New York or Detroit), re: acknowledging his criticism of our editorial on civil liberties toward Negroes; the arrival in Toronto of Ruth Benson from "116"

01\_16 Letter to Murray Dowson (Montreal), re: our court case against Stalinist hooligan attackers; sundry centre business; our election gains

01\_24 Letter to Maurice (Windsor, Ontario), re: success of the fundraising campaign; our hard working-class civic election vote; his visit?

01\_99 Undated notes by RD for a January "Lenin Memorial/47," founder and builder of the Bolshevik party; Lenin's relevance as the danger of war looms again today; the first workers' state a product of his party

02\_01 (Handwritten) letter to Murray Dowson and Ruth (Benson) from Montreal, re: report on Jean-Marie Bédard and his new bride; Jean-Marie's union situation; RD's contact work slow, enquiries about the centre and articles for LC

02\_01 Two letters to Ross's mother, re: arrival in Montreal, and re: "chasing around the city doing what you don't want me to do"

02\_04 Letter to Ruth Benson and Murray Dowson (Toronto), re: enclosing donations; Jean-Marie Bédard speaking at McGill U.; visiting members' contacts; remarks on centre activities, sending surplus *F.I.* copies (*SWP theoretical magazine –ed.*)

02\_12 Letter to Ruth Benson & Murray (from Montreal), re: wasted evening discussing with contact Carr & associates; sub list updates; reader's critique of LC as too partisan; Jean-Marie's impressionism and the general lack of seriousness in Montreal; Jean-Marie the orator speaks to Stalinist Youth group; other mid-winter functions

02\_20 (Handwritten) letter to Murray and Ruth (from Montreal), re: comments on WP-SWP developments; the need to assess Montreal possibilities; the problem of Vancouver not working through the NC; the possibility of prominent LPPers (McKean, Bruce, etc.) coming toward us in BC;

02\_23 +Political Committee minutes: 1) Vancouver branch functioning, 2) attitude toward McKean (Stalinist) group, 3) report on SWP plenum

02\_99 Undated handwritten note (found in 1947) to Murray Dowson (Toronto) re journal articles for next issue, RD returning from Montreal

03\_06 +Minutes of PC meeting: RD reported on recruiting in Montreal

03\_17 Letter to Murray (Montreal), re: editorial board article lineup for the next issue of *Labor Challenge* including Quebec items; speculations on the size of the McKean group in BC

03\_18 Letter to Murray, re: seeking information from Jean-Marie Bédard on Duplessis' labor law attacks

03\_19 Letter to Murray, re: acknowledging funds received; the paper sent for the Cartier by-election

03\_26 Letter to *The Militant*, SWP, New York, re: RD's discovery that *The Militant* is still on the banned list from the war, causing delays

**03\_99** *Document: Internal Bulletin: "Constitution of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Canada and a report of its founding convention Sept. 28-29 1946*; International report; Organizational report; Party tasks and perspectives; NC members elected

04\_02 Letter to Don (Windsor), re: thanks for clippings on the labor-management rally; local subscription work

04\_06 +Minutes of PC-RWP: Canadian and FI affairs, finances, comments on a Vancouver conference

04\_08 Letter to Murray, re: funds and subs sent; articles assigned, meeting Montreal comrades in Toronto (Ken S. & Jim M.)

04\_14 Letter to Murray, re: sub renewal list sent; next issue of *LC* to be ready early for May Day in BC; perspectives for RWP in Quebec

04\_23 Letter to Murray, re: publishing his *LC* articles signed by him; possibility of classes in Montreal; Ken to help him with a CCF article

04\_24 Letter to Don and Eleanor (Windsor), re: thanks for funds contribution; huge May Day distribution planned in BC

04\_28 Letter to Murray, re: PC discussion recommends his stay in Montreal be for one or two years and he be co-editor of *LC*

04\_29 Letter to Jean-Marie Bédard, re: Paris addresses; his work in the dairy industry

04Apr99-1 Undated RD speech notes: ‘**The R.W.P. and internationalism;**’ today’s boom and Canadian exceptionalism; the coming sharp class struggles in Canada and worldwide

04Apr99-2 Undated RD speech notes: ‘**Independence for India;**’ BLP British Prime Minister Atlee announces complete independence for India; India to agree itself on a new constitution; the revolutionary upsurge in India and British forces refusal to continue the occupation; British investment seeks to salvage its interests; the Naval Mutiny of Bombay; the roles of class forces and bankruptcy of the Communist Party of India

05\_05 Letter to Murray, re: shipping French-language literature; most of Spector’s study course list missing; the brothers’ “old man” in clover

05\_14 Minutes of the PC-TWP: the International Cadre School call for candidates, reports on Montreal and Vancouver, finances

05\_21 Letter to Don (Windsor), re: sub work and reaction to *LC*

05\_30 Letter to Murray (Montreal), re: forced to delay the article on the hot immigration policy issue

January 14 1947

(SWP, New York or Detroit)

Ruth Benson (SWP)

Dear Comrade Breitman:

We were pleased to receive your interesting and valuable information concerning the editorial on Civil Liberties that appeared in our November issue. As you are no doubt aware the Negro population in Canada and particularly in the industrial areas of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver is exceedingly small. We have absolutely no contact with them and were totally unaware of these previous errors that we committed to print. We have only one Negro comrade in our party in a small west coast town but he himself may be unaware of these U.S. peculiarities as he has not got in touch with us. Therefore, we will do our best to see that such errors do not take place.

If at any other time you happen to notice any errors of a like character we would be exceedingly pleased to hear from you. We would appreciate hearing any criticism of our press or any advise that you would care to give at any time.

I am sure that all the comrades at the office will be pleased to know that Ruth has arrived safe and sound, is established in what appears to be a comfortable domicile, and that we are doing our best to make her feel right at home. Possibly the latter part of that sentence is not so welcome for we are going to do everything possible to make her work so pleasant and so fruitful here that she will never desire to set foot on 116 again except for a short and comradely visit.

We are exceedingly pleased to have her with us and sincerely hope that the comrades there can adjust themselves without too much difficulty to her loss knowing that she will be performing such invaluable service here.

Comradely

Ross Bowson

There was an item in the Tribune last issue on the Samuel expulsion linking them up with Trotskyites Duplessisites etc. The split is most embarrassing for the Stalinists coming particularly as it does when the Trotskyists made such colossal electoral gains in ~~the~~ Toronto and showed themselves to be the only ones with a class line. From the article in the Tribune I am doubtful if they will be able to get back into the party..... and all their belly crawling attacks on the Trotskyists will be to no avail. If they are rejected it seems to me that they will be compelled to question the party line, ~~the~~ and that will be the time that they will develop political differences with the party. Hope you can find time to keep in touch with them. Have you been able to see Samuel again or do you think it advisable to let him stew a bit.

Hugh tells me that he heard somewhere that the IWA drive had commenced in Quebec and that Valliancourt was heading it. He is none too clear. Probably he got it all mixed up. Will take up the matter of your name on the mast-head before we go to press with the next issue. I am agreeable.

Think that is all for now ..

### comradely

100

Ross

Vancouver comrades were caught flat footed by the Arms to China protest pickets. From a letter we received from Tom I get the impression that the fact it did not have trade union base kept us away. He is rather easy on Mosher etc and vicious on the Stalinists who carried the ball...he attacks them for their failure to put a solid base under it through the unions...and appears to use this fact which appears to be true or to have some truth in it, to justify our failure to be there.

Haven't received their material on the Bill 39 dispute yet

Internal  
There is the odd I.S. Bulletin coming in in French. Have a hard time trying to keep up with English material. Would you like us to send some along? Don't think they would be any aid to Jean, probably only cause confusion.

January 16 1947

Dear Murray;

Just a few lines to answer some of your letters of the last two or three weeks. We are finally getting all the material that piled up during the last month of election work cleared away.

This morning the court dismissed the charges that Harry laid against the Stalinist hooligans. As you no doubt guessed from the fact that I did not state my individual position in the outline of the case that we sent to all N.C. members, I was in favour of carrying the case forward on the basis of the Toronto branch decisions. The way the case was handled by the judge, crown attorney, and the lawyer for the defence it seems certain that there had been agreement previous to the actual hearing, to squash it. It was squashed on the basis that the two fellows charged with ~~thrust~~ did not strike Harry. It was all like a little staged play. At anyrate I think we gained a certain point.... that is that we will not stand for hooligan attacks on our people. The Stalinists have said absolutely nothing about the whole case and I gather from reports of the odd comrade that they ~~XXXX~~ the rank and file are embarrassed by the incident. Well it is all over now.

We sent out the material on the financial and personell problem last Monday but have not yet heard anything from any of the N.C. members. However we will probably hear from them in the first of next week. In the meantime I cut myself off the payroll. Ruth has been out seeing about the possibility of getting a job. As you can realize if she can get a job as copy writer she can make considerably more money than I. This morning she was at Simpson's and she thinks that she might land a \$50. 00~~00~~ week job ....will know by first of next week.

We received a letter from Farrell. They do not know the actual situation in the international and have written to Paris to make absolutely sure. They also state that they do not think that they can be of any financial aid but will take the matter up with us when they receive word from Europe. With any luck we should hear about that towards the end of next week. So you can see we are not yet in a position to make any definite ~~XXX~~ decisions as yet.

Neither Louis or Ken have dropped in with any money as yet.

Received Valliancourt's renewal. All the last bunch of names received the last issue as we figured what with the holiday season etc you would not have been able to see any of them. The last issue should be quite an inspiration for them. "one has sent in ~~the~~ renewal by mail other than Norman Epstein.

Right now Toronto is starting the long job of trying to pick up renewals. Planning a membership campaign for Feb and March. Looks like we might be able to pull in three or five new people through the election results. A fellow that knows Vic Hugh wrote us a letter the other day, I went out to see him and he came to the last forum, seems to be a good type. An old LWP'er type to a forum a few weeks ago and seemed quite impressed...said he and wife would come back again next week.

Received a letter from Picton the other day from a fellow who read about the campaign and wants to know more about us, literature etc. He did not even have an address but sent it to ~~XXXXXX~~ Dowson who was candidate for Mayor.

1947

January 24 1945

Dear Maurice;

No doubt you were quite pleased to see that we went over the top in our drive for the \$1,500. Toronto came through with a considerable sum more than her pledge and Vancouver this time made her objective. For a long time I was doubtful if we would make it...but the few comrades that we have as yet in our movement really came across. We reopened pledges in Toronto and we ended up raising \$1,500 more than \$500 from the members themselves. This certainly speaks well for our future development.

Our election campaign of course was a great success. The sub ~~MINIMUM~~ division returns were released only a few days ago and we have not yet had time to go to work on them but even a casual glance proves that our vote was an extremely conscious one based almost entirely on leaflet distribution from house to house. In a district which is homogeneously working class if you step off the street where we distributed you get no vote. In poll after poll we received 8 to 10 per cent of the vote. Next year will really see an effective campaign and an impressive vote rolled up on the basis of our program.

I have been expecting to see you walk in the door any day now. If you don't come in this afternoon or possibly Monday afternoon you will probably miss me. On Monday or Tuesday of next week I am leaving Toronto for Montreal. I will be down there for a month and then will be reporting back so that we can decide what definite moves we will make. Possibly you have heard that we have here with us one of the most talented of the U.S. comrades who is giving us a real hand in the work and is enabling us to make this move. Before I go I want if possible to clear up the many odds and ends that it is inevitable the person who handles affairs alone knows. One of these little items is the financial drive account. Don forwarded \$25.00 which along with your \$30 leaves \$15.00 still outstanding for Windsor. I wonder if you could clear that up by putting a money order in the next mail. I am telling Murray about this situation but it is possible that he will forget and the note misplaced.

I am enclosing a letter which is self explanatory.

Give my regards to your family

comradely

Ross Dawson

## Ross Dowson archives – 1947

### 1947-01Jan “Lenin Memorial/47”

(From a handwritten set of notes by Ross Dowson accompanied by 7 and a half pages of preliminary notes and quotations – ed.)

We Trotskyists throughout the globe commemorate in this month the memory of Nicolai Lenin.

It was in January 1924 that Lenin, founder and builder of the Bolshevik party, leader of the mighty Russian Revolution and founder of the Communist International, died.

We are not solely interested in perpetuating his memory — great and inspiring as that is. No, we do not want to debase the memory of this great proletarian revolutionist with a ritual demonstration. We want to make Lenin as useful to the working class, the class to whose interests he tirelessly devoted himself, as useful in death as he was in life. We want to present the completely contemporary program of Lenin, the only program which can emancipate the world from capitalist barbarism.

The task of reviving Lenin's program is made all the more necessary by the mockery that the Stalinists conduct under “Lenin Memorial” meetings, and their perversions of his great teachings. What is happening to Lenin at the hands of the Stalinists is but a repetition of what Social Democracy did or attempted to do to Marx and his program. Lenin in his great classic “State and Revolution” had cause to make the following remarks (page 113)

(.....)

Today also the bourgeois enemies of Leninism are cooperating with the Stalinists in the adulteration and falsification of Leninism. They do so by insisting that Stalin is the heir of Lenin. They do so of course in order to befoul and besmirch the memory and teachings of Lenin and thus revolutionary Marxism with the crimes of Stalin which are daily becoming more obvious and repulsive to the world working class.

In England during the war, while the workers of Europe were being bombed out and destroyed by world imperialism, Harry Pollit and other Stalinist flunkies were joined by Winston Churchill, arch opponent of the Russian Revolution and the USSR, which remains even today a tribute to Lenin's genius. These war mongers and Churchill, who represents all that is in opposition to Leninism, the very symbol of the class enemy of the workers, came together in London to unveil a monument to Lenin erected near a home in which he had lived while in exile.

The Lenin portrayed in these Stalinist meetings has about as much life in him as the grotesque mummy which the Kremlin keeps on display in Red Square. Indeed as we had occasion once before to remark, Lenin, who is now paraded before the world proletariat in the company of Peter I, Ivan the Terrible, and Czarist military generals, has been transformed into a caricature of Stalin.

In order to further identify what are in reality the forces of counterrevolution in the USSR with the revolution, Lenin takes on Stalin's image. In the Great Conspiracy, Lenin, instead of being the leader of the Bolsheviks — leader by his superior knowledge and ability but subject to the democratic process of the party — Lenin becomes the dictator who orders the Soviet representatives at Brest-Litovsk to do so and so, who decrees this and that.

Histories have been rewritten, books dumped, books distorted by interpolations and false footnotes without end. Yet the written distortions are the least important. The most terrible blows to Lenin's program are the daily orders that issue forth from the Kremlin. Orders, indemnities, occupation forces, that are obeyed by Stalinist parties throughout the world.

The usurpers of Lenin's mantle are his mortal enemies. In his name they perpetrate the worst crimes against his doctrine. But the mere fact that the Stalin lie-machine works overtime to cover its crimes with the cloak of Lenin is in itself a great tribute to Leninism.

Leninism is a living doctrine. Leninism is a clear answer to the problems confronting humanity in our epoch — one which he himself characterized as an epoch of imperialist war, proletarian revolutions and colonial revolutions. Who but the blind or those who have gone over to the class enemy can deny this?

Less than one and a half years after the close of a second imperialist world war the capitalist warmongers are arming for the next — germ warfare. This week Jan Smuts scornfully rejected the UNO as an impotent body. The UNO which CCF leader Coldwell has proclaimed as the only hope for peace.

As we sit here our brothers in Indochina are being brutally shot down, with the sanction of the Socialists and Communists in the government of France, as they struggle for national liberation. In Greece workers and peasants deprived of the most elementary rights, without food and clothing, carry on an armed struggle from the hills against the British-enthroned monarchy. In Italy and France the conditions confronting the workers have developed to such a pitch that even the Socialist and Stalinist lackeys cannot abate it.

Obviously this is the epoch of imperialist war, proletarian revolutions and colonial revolutions, and not the epoch of reforms, or of the democratic front as proclaimed by the LPP and the CCF.

Marx the mighty founder of scientific socialism died in 1883. Although the struggles of 1848 and the Paris Commune showed the way forward, capitalism had still before it a period of expansion throughout the world before it reached the era of decay. They — Marx and Engels — did not live to witness the barest opening of the epoch of imperialism although their brilliant writings had already given the clue to its character. At their death the recognized basis of the entire international working class movement was Marxism.

But in the first stages of imperialism a great wave of confusion passed over the international socialist movement. The French, German and British movements, grown fat on the lucrative offices that imperialist expansion opened up to them, saw a vast perspective of gradual

elimination of the evils of capitalism, and they juked Marxist theory to jump on the bandwagon of their imperialist masters.

The Russian labor movement had its revisionists in the persons of the economists, etc. Lenin, born in 1870, entered the labor movement at an early age. While he founded the Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of Labor in Petrograd, and participated in the early organizational work of the labor movement, he was soon thrust into the task of opposing those who would divert the Russian labor movement up harmless and ineffectual channels.

Lenin soon developed into the leading theoretician of the Russian movement. Lenin always prided himself in being an orthodox Marxist and he defended Marxism against all comers. When the parties of the Second International capitulated to support of their capitalist governments at the outbreak of the First World War, Lenin gathered a handful of true internationalists at Zimmerwald to reaffirm the principles of Marxism.

(these prompt notes inserted –ed.) “They spoke what was... Theory & practice... Say what is... Adherence to program... Lenin’s attitude to parliament...”

Today as the world thunders forward to another war, all workers must turn to what Lenin had to say to the workers on war in 1914. Lenin agitated against “defence of the fatherland.” This war is a reactionary war between the slave owners for the re-division of the globe. He exposed the camouflages erected by the imperialists – “safeguard peace against the aggressors. . . defence of democracy...” He told the workers that who struck the first blow was of no importance in deciding the tactics of socialists. For Lenin there were two questions: What class is waging it, and for the sake of what. He warned: “Absolutely in vain is any attempt to determine from the standpoint of the international proletariat whether the defeat of one of the two warring camps would be a lesser evil for socialism.”

He called upon the workers to fight the enemy at home. He exposed the pacifists. He rejected disarmament as a utopia under capitalism. What a far cry from Tim Buck and Stalin. (RD’s side-notes: “Ban the bomb, UNO.”) What a powerful weapon this would have been in the hands of the workers in 1939. No wonder the Trotskyists who adhered to this policy are hounded by the Stalinists and bourgeoisie alike.

His call found no support in the official parties except the Russian and Siberian parties. Then came the Russian Revolution of 1917. A revolution that was no magic explosion but the culmination of a long previous process of the revolutionary movement.

Lenin returned from exile to take his place at the head of his Bolshevik Party. Many books have told how Lenin arrived at the Finland Station, and how his own colleagues were stunned by his demand “that the Soviets take all the power.” Lenin and Trotsky, whose name has been indissolubly linked with his in the annals of the revolution, joined hands to win over the party to their program.

On November 7 the Bolsheviks instituted the First Workers’ State. The Russian Revolution had shown the workers of the world the way to power. The masses led by the Bolsheviks nationalized the land, etc. This was not for Lenin the completion of the task. He was an

internationalist above all. The October Revolution was but the first. He issued revolutionary appeals; he created the Third International to provide the necessary leadership. He was dedicated to the World Socialist Revolution and to the defence of the first workers' state. He saw the two tasks as one. For Lenin the Russian Revolution was but the starting point of the World Revolution. Lenin's speeches and documents of that period, right up to his death, are punctuated with this thought.

The idea that the USSR cannot (alone) withstand the pressure of world imperialism, that the USSR cannot (alone) reach socialism, permeated Lenin's teachings and of all he wrote and spoke.

A wave of reaction followed the failures of revolution. The bureaucracy who spoke in Lenin's name, rode into power. Today the USSR is in their grip but still it remains a tribute to his genius. Lenin's role as defender against revisions of Marxism would give him immortality. His contributions on the nature of the state, his analysis of the problem of war and the working class answer to it, add to his stature. But we would still be short of finding his proper place in history...

His greatest contribution was the Bolshevik Party. At the turn of the century, Social-Democratic parties had become loose, undisciplined, open to every perversion of Marxism, electoral machines, divorced from the real workers struggles. Lenin forged a combat party of a conscious organized vanguard. While Social-democratic parties collapsed, the Bolshevik Party won workers to its side and seized power.

The Russian Revolution was the product of this party. This Party became the pattern of the CI (the Communist, or "Third" International). These parties led valiant struggles until reaction gained power in the USSR. Then, the CI parties became docile tools of the bureaucracy.

Trotsky rescued the entire heritage of Lenin for the workers. He rescued the Party as the Fourth International. He rescued the program which is the basis of the Party. Our tribute to Lenin is our adherence to his program and our building of the party on this program. This is the tribute that all the workers must pay Lenin — a tribute worthy of his genius.

Join the RWP!

## Glossary

LPP: Labor Progressive Party (Canadian Communist Party wartime label)

CCF: Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, forerunner of NDP

RWP: Revolutionary Workers Party (Canadian Section of the Fourth International) of which the speaker was principal leader

(Handwritten letter from Montreal February 1947)

Saturday morning Feb. 1/47

Dear Murray (Dowson) and Ruth (Benson, a SWP member on staff in Toronto);

This is the first opportunity I have had to sit down and write although I arrived here quite late on Tuesday night. I am still rather unsettled but things are beginning to shape up a bit. Our arrival was not particularly well timed but the conditions that I met only go to verify the need to try to rescue that there is here and to try to put some flesh on it.

Ken and Louis are both out of town and will not be back for at least two weeks. They are up in Sudbury or North Bay and should be in Toronto in about ten days. For the first two days the only person I saw was Alice. Jean (Jean-Marie Bédard) was down at Quebec presenting Duplessis with the CCL annual cap-in-hand memorandum. Collin was in town but is having some marital difficulties and although I have spoken to him on the phone twice, I have not yet been able to meet him. Spent Thursday evening with Ellen. Have seen Max and will be seeing him later this week. Alice will be leaving Montreal for a month, combined business & holiday stay at Mont Tremblant – will be leaving next week. So you can see everything is in a turmoil. I would say that considering the difficulties that I have met in even seeing our comrades, Alice has been doing a marvellous job in even collecting the money that she has.

I am living with Jean at the address that the telegraph company said didn't exist. Not the best arrangement for your know how Jean is. The first night (last night) we chewed the rag until about 2:00 o'clock in the morning in a most general manner and this morning I had to tear myself away in order to sit down and write this. I have decided to stay with Jean for a week even though it is not perhaps the best idea from the point of view of work. At the end of this week Alice will be leaving and she is going to turn her apartment over to me. This is of course an excellent set up. The apt. is central and roomy and I will be able to come & go as I please. I will have it for a month – just the right time before I return to Toronto to discuss the situation with you. It was hardly worth the while to get a room for a week, & besides they are very scarce & cost a great deal (situation if anything is worse than Toronto). Besides even though a lot of the time with Jean is wasted in talking around under & over all problems, he of course is the potentially most valuable person here so when he offered to share his room I took him up.

He is if anything in a greater unorganized state than usual. On Feb. 15 he is getting married. He insisted I meet her last night & go to the show with them. Reminds me of Jeanette. Working class girl, former fur worker, now secretary of Haddow (Stalinist) who is now a big shot in the Fur & Leatherworkers. Apparently she has had no political experience but of course the Stalinists have been working on her. Seems to be quite friendly and Jean assures me that she will work for us. She appears to be capable in many ways (she is now learning short-hand) but not intensely interested in politics although friendly. MacAuslane who is here told Jean that Ottawa was informed that the Stalinists had put a Stalinist girl after him. The top bureaucrats are leading a vicious red-baiting anti LPP campaign in the trade unions. CIO Textiles under Sefton & Coy (Co.) are going to try to move in on Valleyfield and have printed some vicious anti-red leaflets.

Of course they are a little worried about Jean who has spoken with Parent & Rowley on the same platform and doesn't fall into their schemes so well.

This letter is badly organized but only reflects my circumstances in the past 4 days or so.

I am setting myself a schedule of work however and should soon get an idea of the situation. I have got the map of the town and lined up the various names of persons who had or still do subscribe. Starting tomorrow I am going to make the rounds. If possible I am going to try & involve Ellen who seems quite desirous of giving me whatever help she can and I hope to get Colin also to go around with me and later to get after his contacts. Incidentally Colin is off the CCL payroll starting Feb. 15. Apparently it is a result of an economy drive and also his complete inactivity. His personal difficulties appear to be such that he doesn't come to the office 2 and 3 days at a stretch – on top of that of course there is nothing doing at the office. The CCL office of course is a bit of a joke, about all it does is administer the civic employees and shoot the shit. They are not carrying on any organizational work and when they do in no time flat the work is tied up in jurisdictional disputes. There is probably plenty they could do but Philips isn't interested, Jean is tied up, Colin doesn't know what to do and they can't give him any ideas. I don't know how he feels about the situation but I intend to spend this evening with him. I will see who he has on the string. He is an electrician by trade and I will have a talk with him about his perspectives. Ellen is working at the electrical plant (Marconi) so perhaps they might get together. Marconi has a company union but Ellen thinks there are possibilities but of course Colin is an electrician & not a production worker & may need the wages of his trade. We will see. So as I was saying I intend to spend every evening on contact work. The mornings I should have free to follow the press, read & write. The majority of the afternoons should be also comparatively free for that but I expect to spend some time with Jean. He agreed the last two issues of *Les Nouvelles* were poor and he intends to take it over as there seems to be no one available to do so. I am intending to give him a hand with this so he doesn't become too tied up. He is also looking for advice in the TU (trade union) work. He, by the by, raised the question again of the IWA and our getting linked up with their drive which is just getting into gear. I said a few words and then skipped around it. I don't think there is any hurry but I think he is realizing more and more the precarious position he is in and the comparatively useless post he holds. The bureaucracy is daily becoming more reactionary and having no base he is buffeted between them and the Stalinists. He has a dangerous tendency to get tied up in manoeuvres. When I asked him why he wasn't up in Noranda he was taken by surprise. It seems that he had even been invited but someone else went up as he was tied up in the Duplessis brief. He seemed to think it was a good idea and agree that he should go up at once if anything further breaks out there. If anything further develops I will put pressure on him to go and take me along with him.

I am enclosing some clippings with this letter, one or two for Left Jabs (China relief) and others which should perhaps be kept in Ruth's file or might be useful for current articles. When I get to Alice's I will keep a file and will possibly be able to write the odd article aside from assignments and backlog material. Here is an atlas which I picked up which I know is good as it lists and locates Magna Bay and Milne's Landing besides providing a little useful information on Canada. Plus a pencil that I picked up at the CCL office which might be useful at 87 King W.

I will be writing my column probably on Monday and will forward it at once so we can carry on any necessary discussions. Will also get to work on Britain and Winnipeg. Let me know if there is anything else I can do for the paper. I think I should be able to do quite a bit. You can always send me the material for some articles. Jean & Alice have a fair library when combined and Alice gets the FI and Militant which I will use. I am wondering about the bulletin – I forgot to take Muriel's convention report – are you writing this up, are you waiting for a campaign report? If you haven't time send it on to me. I will write the campaign report tomorrow and forward it at once. Oh! There is the organizational report – not so easy to do this from pure memory – will see what I can do & will send it on but it doesn't have to go in this bulletin.

Hope you have found everything and that all runs smoothly. If there is anything important you can always make a person to person call to Alice. I wouldn't be there but she could tell me you called & I could call back. But mail service is good. Are the books closed OK. I always pay up all the bills before I closed them. You can still get the gas light discount. Pick up the bank statement for Ruth in a few days time. Don't send me any money. I haven't gone after the comrades here yet but I will use their contributions and send you the excess and an accounting so you can make the book entries.

Will you mail that pile of French pamphlets to Alice's address at once – and I will try to put them on the stands and take them on my calls. I don't need any English literature as Alice has plenty here – I will send you an accounting to go against Montreal account. Will straighten up the LC situation with Max. Think we should get the FI, stamp all the literature with a Postal Box No. but perhaps we can leave it till the end of the month and we will talk over the entire situation.

Last issue of the paper is fine. Did we get any subs from the letter-paper distribution on the election breakdown? I see that Toronto TUs have set up a permanent committee to fight discrimination & race prejudice – no doubt we had our hand in this.

I hope you are getting plenty of home cooked meals these evenings and the pressure of work permits you to see the town a bit. I hope "those people up there are treating you so that you never want to come back."

Regards to all,

Comradely,

Ross

Send mail to Alice's – probably best in view of what happened at Jean's with the telegram.

Have to close as I told Jean I would see him at a Stalinist-dominated Trade Union Rights meeting in 15 minutes at the Windsor Hotel.

Enclosures with next mail.

(Handwritten letter from RD to his mother, Feb. 1, 1947)

You Dear Cutie Kid:

I arrived in Montreal quite late on the CPR train, only able to hitch to Brockville. I am putting up at Jean's.

I hope that your family is all in good order and that you are getting into the housekeeping groove. How are the meals these days? Why don't you phone up El 9613 some day and invite Ruth up for supper now that my place is empty? Give Murray any letters that come for me -- my copies of the Fourth International can go up in the bookcase so that I keep a complete file.

Your loving, appreciating and always thinking of you son, Ross xxxxxxxxxxx

(Handwritten letter from RD to his mother, Feb. 22, 1947)

Montreal

Dear Mrs. D

I was happy to see that you remedied my oversight and dropped me a line. That was quite a letter about Jerry -- over half of it about how he hurt his big toe -- then about Ruthy -- and then about Pop's propositions, finally ending with a paragraph about you... I see the old man is plotting and planning about you running a bookstore with him as you suggested, or have you come to the conclusion that it is useless? Let him sell his books if he needs dough.

Of course I miss yah cutie! I miss your interest in me and in the party, I miss all your little problems, your quiet smile, the little jobs you have, your excellent valet service, your meals and your charming family. However I will be dropping in on you in a few weeks. In the meantime I hope you are looking after all my affairs: my books and personal possessions – my sculpture –

Have been quite busy chasing around the city doing what you don't want me to do. Getting to know the town very well. Housing situation is terrible and I am staying at Jean's place... lots more to say but I see it is supper time and I have a meeting early tonight,

Love Rossy Tossy. How are you making out for dough? Here's a pair of nylons for you.

Roth Benson

Dawson

Feb 4/47

(from Montreal)

Dear Ruth + Murray;

Enclosed are the two checks — there will be more coming in like this and it might be a good idea to inform all the comrades in letters that we next send them to make money out, as it should be anyway, to Labor Challenge.

Nothing in the press about Noranda except an item yesterday that all the churches in the area were holding a mass to bring an end to the strike. But I will take that assignment for the next issue as there is probably a better or at least as good a coverage in the press here. Story will be in at the latest Feb 11 or 12. Jean has been invited to speak at McGill University on Feb 11th at a symposium on the subject of What Canada can do to prevent another war — he is to speak on behalf of labor. I think we could carry a report on such a meeting. I am afraid that I will not be able to cover it as this fellow Carr has invited me up to his group which meets the same evening however if you think it suitable I will ask Jean to write it up himself.

Carr is a former member of the SP of USA. Friendly to us, in a vague and confused way. Has been a great admirer of Mac Donald's Politics but is disappointed in his recent developments. He is an anti-stalinist and has succumbed to a certain extent to anti-bolshevism. He runs a small business and I gather that the entire group — pretty bourgeois, cynical etc but who knows — there might be someone there and at any rate we might turn them into paying

(2)

sympathizers. Would you send me five copies  
of Their Morals and Ours — I know that it  
will interest this group

I was around to see Shatan who gave me  
a rather cold reception and shoved me off to see  
this fellow Epstein who as he says has all his  
ideas. Last night spent the evening with a  
- contact of Colin who is sympathetic to LC (Sullivan  
a subscriber) but who - amazingly enough  
doesn't understand the theory of the class struggle  
and doesn't understand the theory of the class struggle  
He is a great admirer of MacKenzie King but an opponent  
of the CCF. The discussion was quite good, he bought  
one of the trial pamphlets and would like to see  
us again. Colin was quite impressed by the  
discussion. He is a very serious fellow and  
really wants to work for the party. Of course  
he has learnt nothing from the group or Jean  
but I think he has quite a bit of ability. He is  
shy but wants to do party work. I get the impression  
that he is glad that he is through with the Congress  
so that he can function openly as a Trotskyist.

Was up to see Weurck who gave me the  
enclosed two dollars — put one for a sub, the  
other for a donation. Exceedingly friendly.  
Wants to give us a hand — sort of the Madame  
de Staél of Montreal. I suggested that I  
intended to hold a public meeting and he  
became quite enthusiastic about giving us a hand  
sending out notices, giving us names and so  
forth.

Have called a meeting tomorrow night  
of all the comrades. That fit we should have  
one — very informal as Alice is going away next  
weeks (still indefinite though) I intend to give them  
a report on recent developments in the party.

(3)

Take up the question of money which Alice  
seems to have a very rough accounting of and  
also give a report of what I have done so far,  
provoke a discussion on the possibilities here and  
see what they have to say about holding a  
meeting. This will give them all an idea of  
what we intend to do and give them a chance to  
evaluate themselves and determine what they want  
to do. We also will have a chance to evaluate them.

I think the idea of holding a public meeting  
is a good one. We could put an ad in the press,  
get all the mailing lists together (CCF + TU). I would  
speak and Colin seems to be willing to chair the  
meeting. We have sufficient literature. We could  
put out interests sheets and possibly follow  
up with other meetings or a study class for  
interested persons.

Colin has two other persons whom he thinks  
are possible party material but we haven't been  
able to arrange anything yet. We do not have  
to settle up with our comrade-sympathizers  
here until we can line up 2 or 3 such persons  
and form ~~a~~ a solid Bolshevik branch. Tonight  
I am going to go around to call on some of our  
campaign subscribers.

I am surprised how little I can get done.  
I will be glad when this week passes and Alice  
knows what she is doing. Living at Jean's is  
very expensive on my time. I don't think we have  
gone to bed yet before 2 o'clock and so breakfast  
is always very close to dinner. He is quite a  
fellow. Always projecting fantastic ideas and  
it is difficult to know whether he does so seriously  
or not.

I am writing this at Alice's and have just  
received your two letters and the parcel of books

I havent read your material on our press but  
will do so as soon as possible

Glad to hear Vern did so well. Spent a lot  
of time with him on that speech. Which reminds  
me Peter has arranged to speak before his group  
and he will need a great deal of help. I think  
it possible that he has said nothing to you about  
it as he usually asked me to give him a hand.  
Would you ask him if he wants help - he needs it.  
and he should be encouraged to speak there as  
the group is a Stalinist periphery - he may just  
ditch the whole project. ~~He is a good man~~

I understand that you folks are taking over  
the bulletin - fine. I think it is a good idea to  
enclose Ruth's material in the bulletin but what  
about this organizational report. You know we  
must send one at once to the IS so we could  
at the same time use some of it for the bulletin.  
Are you going to handle this?

I will speak to Max about getting a photo  
but I am doubtful - when home comes back of  
course it will be no trouble at all. What is  
wrong with the negative I gave you for a half  
column cut. We can use 'home' for a full column  
as we need it

The release is good. Will let you know if it  
is picked up here. Can we picket the French  
consulate in Toronto? I see that we did in the  
U.S.

The trip to US plenum. I always feel I don't  
get much out of those 2 day stands. Everything  
that goes on is so new and unfamiliar that  
I question if I am worth the investment - and  
after all we have so little money. By all  
means Murray should go. I suppose it is

not possible for Ruth as the paper will be going through or just gone through. Any internal material that comes through will be sent right back if you will forward it here.

Well! I thought you would get the gong. Up here in the cold Northlands no one takes a bath every day. The only conclusion "we all" up here could draw is that you must be goddam dirty to need a bath a day. I suppose you will have little trouble finding a place more suitable at that ~~price~~ It certainly ain't like ~~home~~ is it - this boarding out stuff.

home

Comradely,

Ross.

Just shipped off via express a bundle of papers F 1's etc that Jean had lying around. Enclosed were the enclosures mentioned in the last letter. We might be able to match up some of the F 1's. You will notice that there were some copies of the There is no peace issue of LC plus clippings and cuts etc.

Tell me, what is the date line now - also the very last day so I know what to do with Noranda if anything breaks

20th Jan 1946 Review

E4 1944-57 MTC  
Wednesday Feb 12/47

Benson

Benson

Dear Ruth & Murray

Last night + was the most completely wasted evening that I have spent in my entire life. Last week I got in touch with the fellow Carr. He is the one who was down to see the SWP in New York and whom Louis + Ken interviewed. He invited me up to meet a little group of people with whom he associates. It appears that they meet every other week or so and last night they held forth. A mutual admiration club composed of completely tired cynical anti-bolsheviks. They number in their ranks, Oscar Stromberg, Gorotsky, Louis Poch, Dunc Anderson, Carr, and other persons whose names I cannot recall. The evening started off with the usual Stalinism equals Bolshevism, the amorality of Bolshevism + the Trotskyism charges. At this stage I did a very good job as I had taken pains to brush up a little on this so I would be tops but shortly it all turned into a kibitz and a rambling discussion on the psychology of revolutionists etc. which of course I had no interest in discussing with them. To honest I had expected little but had hoped that that there might be one or two persons who might be worth while. Carr who is a small business man, ex New York SWP who during the Russian Revolution was a supporter of the Bolsheviks, former sympathizer of the Field group, subscriber to Politics but now disillusioned with it seems to be more seriously concerned about his own position. He said little during the entire discussion and what he said was

intelligent. I may drop down to see him again and get a sub to the FG or a donation. The rest are completely demoralized opponents of our movement.

On the whole the situation is very poor here. I have been spending almost every night clashing around the city with the list of ours. Unfortunately as is only to be expected it reflects the character of our own group. I am enclosing a list of names and addresses that might just as well be removed from the list of old subscribers. Some of these persons are no longer living at those addresses and I was unable to get their new one (student friends of Morrows?) others are persons who are friends of some of our own comrades here and are not at all interested.

Colin as is to be expected is the only person to have turned up any worthwhile contacts. We spent an evening with a fellow by the name of Sullivan (subscriber) who professes agreement with our program but is extremely confused. He was a former organizer for the Liberal Party and still seems to have some illusions about King. Sold him some literature and will go out again to see how he progresses. But the best person so far is a fellow by name of Vigneau whose sub I have just noticed runs out with this issue. He appears to be a more serious and class conscious worker. We had an excellent discussion which I know Art enjoyed very much. He is still fairly raw for instance he is opposed to politics in the union (he is a carpenter) but I know we made quite an impression on him. He bought about \$1 worth of pamphlets and we will certainly see him again.

Met Morrow on the street while I was out one night trying to cover some names. He was quite friendly and wanted to talk but I was in a hurry so I told him where I was staying and he said he would drop down to see me this week. Had a talk with Frank and his wife. He seems to be ~~more~~ more and more of a petty bourgeois democrat although he still remains capable of seeing the shallowness of all the rest of the petty bourgeois democrats around here. I asked him what he thought of the paper and he commenced with quite a sharp attack which I listened to with some patience as I thought it possible he might have some ideas and at anyrate it would give me an idea where he stood. It was fitful, the layout is no good, the paper is not elementary enough, not positive enough and too critical, the lingo is too stilted and of course he doesn't like this "Only the 4th International". Stuff Of course the paper is now an embarrassment to him and has ceased to be a discussion organ of the Left but an organ of a political party to which he does not belong. His wife is a fool - she kept chipping in but it seems she hasn't read the paper except for the first 2 or 3 issues. Frank's Souvarinism has developed a little further. He made many veiled attacks against Bolshevism via Luxemburg and the 1905 Trotsky and we finished off with a lengthy discussion on the nature of the state in the USSR. He is finished for some time in my opinion. His wife is the type

of women that encourages every bad facet of his personality and none of his good ones. I started to move around to the question of money but they both started a long song and dance - It appears that they are saving up to go to Europe next fall.

I am having a difficult time with Jean. He is of course strongly tied to our movement but he sure does have a confused mind. We have had several long and serious discussions about various matters. Some of them have been terribly painful for Jean's mind works without method or system - talk about impressionism! He has unfortunately read almost none of the literature of the 4th International although he has a considerable collection. Discussions with him never seem to come to any concrete conclusion and go on and on into the night. He seems to be extremely lonely down here - he has contempt for all the renegades and demoralized elements but he also never seems to have any serious discussions with Ellen or Art about political problems. I am doing my best to try and get him to go down to the plenum this week-end but I am doubtful if he will go as he says that the union situation will probably require him here.

We had a meeting here last week as I knew Alice was leaving town and Ken + Louis wouldn't be in for a couple of weeks. Tilly didn't turn up and I have not yet been able to meet her although I have gone around to her home and phoned her several times. I gave a report of the general

sitation in the party and we had a fairly good discussion. Max had to leave early. Collected \$30 from Jean \$5 from Ellen Alice said she would give me some dough when she returned I will have to see Max as he left early and Colin says he will give some this week end although as you know he is now out of work but I don't think it will be for long as he is an electrician

As things now stand I think we should call another meeting, possibly around the 18th or 20th of everyone here and have an educational — collect dues etc. It would be foolish in my opinion at this stage particularly when we are not sure what we are going to do to cut the group up. While it is true Colin, Jean, Ellen are the proletarian timber which we should be able to build a branch what little that has been done here such as calling meetings collecting money has not been done by them but by Alice. These three people are the most lax as far as money is concerned and have shown no initiative to call meetings or build a branch — they are passive. Murray knows Jean + Ellen. Art is good but lacks initiative. Jean has not used his post for any political purposes and doesn't appear to have picked up a single contact. Some of our petty bourgeois friends in so far as the party is concerned — that is functioning in its present stage are the best elements, and in

my opinion our three proletarians will not  
build the party left to themselves

Incidentally Jean spoke at a meet called  
by the Stalinist Federation of Labor Youth  
to discuss ~~an~~ <sup>He was the guest speaker</sup> brief that they are presenting to  
Duplessis. <sup>He was the only one</sup> went down to the meet. — About  
75 Stalinist youth. He did a very fine job  
Jean is a powerful speaker. He spoke in French  
but I had no difficulty following it as we  
had spent two nights preparing it and I  
knew it as well as he. The Stalinists gave it  
a mixed & confused reception. It was completely  
anti Stalinist in content. It dealt with  
the joltingly confused youth today and the  
4 freedoms. Now which you know is their central  
slogan. Started off with the war, its results  
and in that sense characterizing it and those  
who supported it and then went on ~~to~~ deal with  
2 aspects of the 4 freedoms affecting youth — the  
threat of war and depression, unmasked UNO  
gave support to their brief and then went on  
to state that we should have no illusions about  
briefs, how King met the CCL brief last year  
and how labor had to strike to attain their  
demands. Pointed out how Duplessis and  
Godbout are but 2 sides of the same coin etc.

The McGill University speech has been  
postponed until this coming Monday. It will  
be given in English. Jean has asked me to  
write this speech and will be generally

speaking I don't think I should I will do so.

I have found that Jean has a marked tendency to speak in a very general and abstract manner which is very free for interpretation. Anyways he took this on because I thought he should.

I am in favour of using the post for every opportunity like this. I think there is little to be gained at playing around as Jean seems to be unable himself to use the post to pick up party material.

I could write up something on the Federation speech, but unfortunately I was unable to get a clear idea of what followed as it was in French so I left about 20 minutes after Jean. I am not sure I will be able to go to the McGill meeting but Jean could take some notes and give me an idea what went on. I have started my own paper files and have found a few items which I will write up and send in by the 19th.

Sorry the last article was so long. I had no idea. I have received your material for the next column. Could you send me a list of some of our pamphlets we could use a review of and I will write a couple. I am enclosing a list of the books we have here. I think their value amounts to 34.30 which should go down on the Montreal account. I have sold some of these and will assume responsibility for the debt. Keep the slip on the Montreal

file. Will you check the extensions + adding

Glad to see everybody is going along so well with the forms etc. How is our membership committee doing - are they bringing them in.

The weather has been terrible here for the past week or two - below zero blizzards etc making it very bad for wandering around unfamiliar streets.

I am enclosing a list of names that have been covered and might just as well be removed from the dead file to save stamps sometime when we intend to use it.

Here is the financial account

Owing RD salary up to Feb 15th	40.00
RD has received	36.50

composed of Feb 5 from Ellen 5.00  
 9 Jean 30.00  
 Martin Zinger 1.00

Renewal for 6 months	.50
	36.50

✓ for Phyllis Mac Issac  
 3614 Clarke St  
 Montreal

Enter a donation from me of 3.50  
 so that will make me paid up to that date.

Be sure to make these entries - including the sub  
 We have postponed my meet till the end of Comradely  
 the month. Comrades seem to be afraid of a future.  
 It appears that the press may not take ~~advantage~~ and of course our lot is no good. We will see. I am trying to get them to invite me to speak

*(Transcribed from a handwritten letter dated Feb. 20, 1947)*

Didn't have a chance to reread this before mailing so pardon the errors and of course the writing

Montreal, Thursday afternoon Feb. 20/47

Dear Murray and Ruth

I have just mailed off the article on the rent ceilings so I am taking a little time out to send you back the Vancouver material and the letter on the WP-SWP (*Workers Party USA-Socialist Workers Party USA*) developments.

Quite an amazing development in the WP. The terms are so harsh and yet so completely correct that I think that the SWP and the (*Fourth*) International (particularly in France & Britain) have everything to gain – particularly since there appears to be a good & sizeable core whom we can be fairly confident are serious about the whole affair (the Johnson group). Shachtman's attitude surprises me. Politically he has been moving very rapidly to the right yet seems according to the letter to be easily pulled back. I always thought that he was the right wing in that outfit. I think either way we win – If the WP comes in merely to build up their own faction they will soon discredit themselves and the SWP has shown they can handle them. If it becomes necessary to get tough with them the best elements will remain and it would amount to their finis anyway.

In so far as whatever else came up which you will have to discuss with me in person: I intend to return to Toronto around March 1<sup>st</sup>. If necessary I could return even earlier as there is no sequence to the work here. When I leave for Toronto I hope to be accompanied by Jean (*Jean-Marie Bédard*) but I would be able to stay here as long as necessary. There was no expected time that I intended to be in Toronto – when we get there we will have to discuss the whole Montreal situation and its possibilities, whether it is advisable and possible to keep someone here – This was always my understanding –

I see Tom's address is enclosed in Reg's letter. I left a copy of the minutes of the last PC meeting in the basket marked Tom Bradley on the envelope – would you send it. The branch should be complimented on the handling of the WP move. Certainly is a worthless bunch of elements they have picked up there! Griffin Lamont, Dorothy Jones. Supposing unity comes about between the SWP and WP – this gang has to do some talking before they can find their way into our ranks – they will be required to explain their letter to the editor in the CCF News (Griffin) his letter to us (Lamont) and their whole general position (Jones et al.)

One beneficial factor about WP-SWP unity for the Canadian party will be the removal of the threat of a development of a WP here. There seems to be some possibilities of this in Vancouver and very remote possibilities in Montreal. It should also be a great aid up swinging over the elements that it seems McKean has rallied to his side. While there is little concrete information in Reg's letter it would appear that he has a substantial group around him. What its program is (and) what its activities consist of he

gives no idea – it seems to me for it to have developed as it (was) supposed to have would require greater clarity of program and ideas then what we last heard expressed. Are these people coming from the LPP? (*Labour Progressive Party, Canadian Stalinists*). Why Angus & Lloyd are convinced that the McKean group will come to us suggesting a joint conference I do not know. I think we should write at once for a detailed report. On the whole I think their series of proposals re the expected conference are satisfactory but certainly more information is required. Where Malcolm Bruce fits in I don't know. This unity certainly can be no shot-gun affair for it involves elements who have a shady past, many who stood on the other side of the fence and with political differences which are fundamental.

I don't know how you feel but the Vancouver comrades have in my opinion a very bad habit of not working through the NO (*RWP National Office*) which I think should be taken up with them. This is shown this time re educational work and their decision to write George Clarke. They never ask what we are doing or for any advice here or even suggest that the NO do it. This is partly due to our failure to give reports but of course they have shown a peculiar resistance to our suggestions. They also have a terrible tendency to not give things a trial or to thoroughly discuss anything before making a decision so that they veer from one side to another. I think Whitney did a good thing there. But we should send a letter to them discussing branch educational work. They have by the way all the US courses we have ever received. I think we should suggest internal educational of the character that Toronto holds and not this super elaborate plan on philosophy, economics, etc. which I am sure won't work out. The discussion on the Transitional Program is a good idea but we should try and get them to tie it up to the current problems confronting the branch.

I can see that we should get a discussion going in a bulletin on the CCF again and our relationship. You should say a few words on the question of the CCF and TU (*trade union*) tactics. I am afraid that the comrades have a tendency to move towards any anti-Stalinist bloc regardless of its real character. Lloyd gave me that impression when last there with those so-called non-politicals he works with.

I have just picked this letter up again and now writing on my knee at the CNR station. I want to get tonight's mail. Why should we wait or speculate on the McKean developments. Why don't we urge the Vancouver Branch to plan some activity which will perhaps bring those workers closer to us. In the TUs we should certainly work very closely with them. We could possibly call a conference to discuss the problem of TU work – the building of a left wing. Why not plan a debate on What is Stalinism or What's wrong with the LPP, the French CP and the colonial struggle, etc. and why shouldn't we be the ones to call for a conference to discuss their relationship with the 4th.

I suppose by now you have received the material on their financial situation and the matter of the members-at-large.

Their trade union work seems to be very good and the idea of the leaflet with our position outlined of the basic problems confronting the unions and our program. Not fussy about the first 3 points in the Local 217 electoral program. They have always

seemed to me to imply that there is financial skulduggery afoot although this might be quite an issue in the union. The "We are in full accord with" and "We oppose" are very good although they should have been developed.

I have just finished rereading the Vancouver material and think that we should push them to write something on the discussions on the TU problems they have been having and am more convinced that we should not wait for McKean but push the whole affair ourselves. Can we arrange for an article in the next issue of the paper to be directed, directly or indirectly towards them. Might use the US-CP splits and analyse their character to do this.

I am enclosing a clipping on France for the paper or bulletin board just in case it didn't hit the Toronto press. Also a few things that might be used for the Left Jabs (Bevin's course designed to do everything but solve the problem). The Dosco clipping might fit into the strike article which you are no doubt holding until the last moment.

When I get home tonight I will see what I can send for the paper. I think I have some good figures on profits of Canadian Trust & Insurance orgs and a box on housing or rather the building of everything but housing, a short item on the Duplessis attack on education and also woman's status in Quebec. I will put these in the mail first thing tomorrow and you can use what you will for this issue.

Hope the housing article is OK. I am none too satisfied with the unity column. I can see now that for a column it is too theoretical and cold. What do you say that the next column take up this question the same fellow raises on the USSR and do our criticisms and reaction – or perhaps you have some better ideas. I hoped to get that in to you in much better time but I got terribly tied up with Jean and other details.

I and Jean were of the opinion that we should not write up the meeting because it would tie us up to him too closely (should be vice versa). In the past two weeks Jean has given two very fine speeches, both completely Trotskyist and both delivered to Stalinist audiences. The first speech the Stalinists took lying down. The second they rose to defend their position. Both meetings were small and I attended them both (70 at the first, 60 the second). I was recognized at the Federation of Youth one on the basis of the Toronto performance and one guy (a Stalinist) tried to query me at the 2nd. So I think it best we let them go unreported.

The last three days I have been busy writing my articles, getting my picture taken and trying to arrange a meeting, the last believe me was a tough job. Have arranged a meeting for tomorrow night where I think we will lay plans for the public meeting which we will hold before I go. The list hasn't been gone over completely yet but it is a very poor one and I expect little meeting support from it. Some of the gang do not think the paper will take an ad so I think the possibility of holding a meeting of our own hangs on this.

I believe the CCYM Club will be inviting me up to speak a week Sunday. I have made contact with 3 or 4 of them and sold a bit of literature. One of them, Sam Fogel, is a

centrist but not a hard one – very serious and has possibilities. The provincial org is meeting me on Saturday afternoon. Saturday night I and Colin will probably meet with the former Liberal Party organizer if it can be arranged. He tells Colin he wants to come into the party.

If I don't close off I will miss the mail and as it is now you should get this Friday afternoon.

Comradely, Ross

Agenda: 1 Vancouver, 2 McLean, 3 Report of SWP Penum.

1. The minutes of the Vancouver branch for January 10th and 24th, February 5th and 7th, and branch EC meeting Feb. 2nd, plus a letter from RB dated 10.2.47., were read and various points arising out of these reports discussed.

(a) It was decided to postpone the question of finances until the arrival of MM's report on membership and finances. ~~the~~  
(b) The PC expressed approval of the way the membership handled the WRP manoeuvre to arrange a meeting for MS and to discuss with them and other elements outside the party, party business.  
(c) Comrade MD was instructed to write to comrade DW a letter taking up the opinions of the PC in regards to the trade union work on the west coast. (d) The PC is of the opinion that the educational classes outlined in the minutes and finally adopted are too abstract. It was felt that it would be much better to deal more with current political problems facing the party.  
(e) The PC is also of the opinion that educational and business meetings of the party should be combined in one meeting a week. It believes that the Vancouver branch would function much better if this were done instead of having an educational meeting every week and a business meeting every two weeks. Business of the branch should be handled in about an hour if well worked over by branch EC and then a one hour educational meeting following the business meeting could be held. (f) The PC believes that when comrades are given an assignment to speak at a public meeting of the party, once the subject is decided, they should not be required to submit their speech to the branch meeting. This only wastes time and indicates that for some reason or other the branch has no confidence in the ability of its members to present the party program. The opinions of the PC on the items d, e, f, it was decided, are not to be included in the letter to the branch as they would ~~re~~ reopen questions that were only finally decided on a few weeks ago and thus cause further disorganization. It was decided to include them in the PC minutes only, for the information of the NC members.

2. The PC requests more information on the McLean group, its activities in the unions, its meetings, propaganda, ~~etc~~, composition, numbers, etc. In view of the few facts presented in reports from Vancouver, the PC feels it can not place too strong an emphasis on need for the NC members on the coast to send in every piece of information on the McLean group that they have. The PC has taken note of the information contained in the letter from RB mentioned above. Granted that the estimate of the Vancouver branch EC is correct and that "in the near future a concrete proposal will come from McLean suggesting a 'a joint conference of those who are interested in the organization of a revolutionary party in Canada,'" this becomes the most important development on the political scene for the RWP at the present time. We feel that we must jump on this situation and push it to a successful conclusion. We must eliminate the McLean group as an oppositional attractive center for the vanguard of the working class. This can be done under the most favorable circumstances by uniting with it and thus recruiting a number of leftward moving workers to our ranks. Under the worst conditions we would have to wage a long drawn out fight against it to destroy it as another centrist obstacle

on the road to building the Bolshevik-Leninist party.

The PC feels that in doing this job the RWP is able with the full cooperation of all members of the NC to carry it to a successful conclusion without the aid of comrades from the F.I. or the SWP. The PC is of the opinion that the time has come for our organization to stand on its own feet. At the same time we raise the question of why we should wait for overtures from the McKean group. If sentiment for unification with us exists in McKean's ranks, we should help strengthen it by formally proposing the opening of discussions between the two organizations leading to unification. This would openly raise the question in the McKean organization and put those who still remain Stalinists on the spot.

The PC requests an immediate reply from all NC members on this proposal. If this is agreed upon by the NC members on the coast, we suggest they send us the address of the McKean group so that the PC can immediately open the matter, in its proper form, organization to organization, with the McKean group.

It further proposes that the delegates from the RWP, who will be empowered to carry out the negotiations be chosen from the NC members on the coast with the possible addition of a member of the PC. We feel that "in striving to win them (McKean group) over ~~in~~ either collectively or individually to the 4th," it may be necessary to make certain compromises. Of course these compromises would only be made under pressure and would only be of an organizational or tactical character. But it may be necessary and it would be worthwhile to make such compromises in order to win about ~~in~~ 100 revolutionary workers to our ideas. Therefore, the PC requests further information on point (e) in the letter dated 10.2.47.

3. MD reported on the special plenum of the NC of the SWP which he attended as a fraternal visitor. This plenum was called to discuss unification with the WP, which was re-opened by the capitulation of the WP to the FI. The WP had given assurances that it would abide by all the conditions laid down by the call for the World Congress of the FI published in the Mid-December issue of Labor Challenge. The plenum unanimously ~~agreed~~ to accept the WP into the SWP on this basis. MD also reported on his meeting with a comrade from the IS. Besides routine matters of correspondence, finances, etc., MD reported the IS urged the Canadian section to send a delegate to the World Congress. This matter was referred to the next meeting of the PC.

noted

Dear Murray

1947-Feb-09

44 1944

Just a hasty note before I leave -  
I am taking the first bus Monday morning.  
Everything here is lined up as well as possible  
and it looks to me as if my absence might  
be a good thing for the branch x

Of course the big burden is going to  
be placed on Ruth - she will have to  
get the paper off next weekend.  
Probably it will come off the presses  
around the 29th and 30th. How would  
you like to take the two edits planned  
for this issue -  
all told  $4\frac{1}{2}$  J. size of copy

① suggest one on  
Banning of Cdn Union leaders at  
Border - Dowling, Jackson,  
IUMM + S, Clemence, etc -

② suggested other  
Significance of Tito + now Polish  
splits in the Statement approximates  
or alternate to ② - the escape of 800,000  
from USSR to USA C. Br - see Milt. of  
Sept 6

It would be a very great help if Jan  
could write up an article on the Catholic  
Church in F<sup>1</sup> Canada — he could take  
several approaches — unions etc see  
Militant articles + Nation — If possible  
this issue x

~~the~~ If you can  
get these odds in before the week end  
it would be a great help x

Ken says to put down Harold Magin  
for \$5 in the financial campaign — he lives  
at 5268 St Urban St x

Will write you on the way

D. Ross

Minutes of PC meeting March 6, 1947.

Present - MD, ~~AB~~, GS, RD, (DW on leave of absence)

Agenda:

Montreal Report

Trade Union question

Vancouver Pledge

McKean Group

1. RD reported on his trip to Montreal. Former intellectual members of branch expressed desire to be considered as sympathizers, promised to maintain financial support of party. Good possibilities of recruiting new proletarian elements (French-Canadians) in next few months. On the basis of report and in line with the decision of the Convention it was decided to send a leading comrade to Montreal for an extended stay (at least six ~~to~~ months). ~~xxxx~~ MD was picked to go.
2. It was decided that MD was to write an article on the Trade Union question for the next issue of the Internal Bulletin instead of the letter originally assigned him by the last meeting.
3. Since no financial report had been received as yet it was decided to write an urgent request for this statement.
4. McKean group; This matter was postponed until the next meeting as no additional information had been received.

March 17 1947

(Dwight)

Dear Murray;

I see that you received our telegram alright. It's too bad but that is the way that Alice wants it. She appears to be afraid of what her neighbours will think if a succession of different men take over her place---she also implies that she may return much sooner than she had expected. She asked me to mail the keys to Elizabeth so will you give them to her. It might be just as well if Alice never knew that you stayed there..you might tell Elizabeth who is probably in correspondence with Alice. The very day that we got Alice's note we also received a letter from Jean telling us that he was in Ottawa and would not be in Montreal till Friday or Saturday.

We had the editorial meeting on Saturday and have left space in the next issue for an item on Valcartier by-election to be no longer than three pages....we will hold it open for you. The rest of the issue will be on Budenz with the Editorial designed as an open letter to LPP workers on the significance of his revelations and the Sullivan break. we are also having an article on Sullivan and to give the paper a little balance--continuing with the Dosco, King's anti-labor record. we are not using the Jacson story that appeared in the Militant but will probably use it as the follow up for the next issue. We are telescoping the Budenz biography. So all you will have will be the Valcartier two to three page item.

How about working on the May Day article. I see that we are not so far off from that issue and this is an article that you could write from there. It would be good if we had an opportunity to go over it lots of time prior to its publication. If you want I will send the back May Day issues of the Militant to you. I suppose you noticed that there is almost a complete file of L.C. at Alice's place...also one at Jean's.

We have received the first replies from the West Coast on the McKean developments ....A letter from Tom and one from Lloyd. It seems that it was a lot to do about nothing...

Here is what Reg had to say in his letter that started it off; "Lloyd reports that as far as can be learned the McK group approximates 100 members-Branch in Van, one on Van Island, and contacts in singles and cell form across the country."

From Tom; You mention the possibility of 100 members in relation to McK group. 10 to 12 members would be nearer the actual size of group but the result of such a fusion would probably result in 100 members shortly afterwards."

From Lloyd; well I am sending the letter along as it deals along with this matter with the trade union information that you requested from him. I am also enclosing a personal letter that Tom had enclosed with the other

Return Lloyd's letter as soon as you are through with the material in it as I would like to reply to it.

How is the study class lining up? I am of the opinion that we should organize the branch in "Montreal now that we know what we are going to do and are starting to work. It will be a way of getting some serious work from Ellen and Art and also doing some serious educational work on them all and in particular Jean.

Let us know how you are making out and any help we can be to you

Best of luck



Ross

Has Jean any inside dope on the Sullivan break...if he has would he send it along. Our Budenz press release got out the same day that the BUP released a story on the assassination preparations. However I had done a little tie up on the passport work of Carr and the passport that Jackson had which you will recall was a Canadian Spanish War Vets and I also gave the dope on who the mysterious Miss Y was. They all seemed interested in the release but as I was talking to them the story of Sullivan's break came over the wires and I guess that is what put an end to it. The BUP phoned us up and asked for more information and said they were sending it over the wires...did anything turn up in the "Montreal press.

March 18 1947 ✓

Dear Murray;

Received your two letters this morning with the clippings and the dough.

We had already planned an extensive article on red-baiting as you will note from my previous letter and we will give it the head on page three. I think that this is the best of the two suggestions as the tenor of the Sullivan article is also going to make our position clear plus the editorial appeal to the Stalinist workers.

We were planning to put in my article on King to carry on the labor law attacks but we are of the opinion that we should use Jean's clippings on the question. Can Jean give us any further information on Duplessis' preparations, and more details It would also be a good idea if we had a picture of him to go with his exposure...that  $\frac{1}{2}$  column cut that appears in his paper would be satisfactory...could you get a mat for us or if he is not using the cut could he send it along so we could use it and get a mat from it..or has he any photos failing these.

Ruth and I are in agreement with critical support of Buhay. I think that is the tenor of the article in the last issue but the press release should be a rounded one on our evaluation of Stalinism. I have just phoned Ed and he tells me the letterheads will be out later on this afternoon. As soon as we get them we will send you a batch

comradely

Ross

March 19 1947

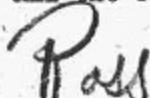
Dear Murray;

Here are the receipts for that pile of money that you have sent in. By the way I meant to tell you that the worst persons in so far as supporting the party are concerned are the proletarian comrades....Art has never paid in anything. This was to a large extent due to oversight and when I was there he was on the jobless line-up. Ellen only gives overtime which I think you will find in the book has amounted to one payment of \$5 for about a year. We should get after them if the amount is only a small one that they can pay.

Jean and you are thinking of getting an apartment eh! You might speak to Max about it..his buddy Gordon Burwash may not be returning to Montreal and I do not know what Max will be doing with their apartment...very good one...about 60 a month but that is not too bad as Jean is paying over 40 for one room.

Ruth tells me that she will have the paper off by Wednesday at the latest and possibly even Tuesday. So it seems to me that the paper would be in your hands by Friday anyway and the election is not until Monday. Would this give you time to do anything with an issue containing an article on Gartier by-election? Have we got the forces to cover anything with the paper. If we have we are of the opinion that an article would be a good idea. There have been new developments such as the nuns going to vote and other ~~REMINISCENT~~ moves of reaction...probably there is much more in the Montreal press. The article would still be OK if it was here on Monday morning. Whatever you think.

All the best

  
Ross

March 26 1947

The Militant  
116 University Place  
New York City  
U.S.A.

Dear Comrades;

I am enclosing \$5.50 for a combination subscription to the Militant and the Fourth International to be sent to

M. Coopersmith  
339 Spadina Ave  
Toronto 2B, Ont  
Canada

For sometime now we have been receiving many complaints from friends and sympathizers about non delivery or exceedingly late delivery of the Militant and sometimes the F.I. For instance I myself received the March 15th issue of the Militant on the 24th at my home address. The office bundle came in exactly the same way---one full week behind the usual schedule.

We were thinking of getting after the Postal authorities concerning this ridiculous delay but an interesting little episode took place today. I went down to the P.O. to obtain a money order for this sub. Us ually I have had the money order made out to the F.I. but for some unknown reason today I asked that it be made out to the Militant. The postmaster asked me if it was on the banned list and I very confidently said no---however he went to the files and brought over a card with the Militant name and address on it...this card came from a file listing banned publications in Canada. He refused to make the money order out for me. It appears that the F.I. is not on the list.

I am inclined to believe that the list is an old one. I know that the Militant was banned during the war but I was under the impression it was lifted. This of course throws an entirely different light on the situation. I am of the opinion that we should make no complaints at this time until we can check if the ban was ever lifted. As things now stand it is a trifle inconvenient but if the ban is enforced it will be much more inconvenient. I will try to find out the score on the banning from this end. At a later date let us say when another Bernard Clare banning takes place it might be a good idea to launch an attack on the banning if it is still in force.

Comradely

CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONARY  
WORKERS PARTY  
OF CANADA



AND A REPORT OF ITS  
FOUNDING CONVENTION  
SEPTEMBER 28-29 1946

INTERNAL BULLETIN VOL.1 NO. 3

MARCH  
1947

20¢

# CONSTITUTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

as adopted by the  
Foundation Convention, Sept. 28-29, 1946

## Article I Name

The name of the organization, which is the Canadian section of the Fourth International, shall be Revolutionary Workers Party (hereinafter referred to as "the party.")

## Article II Purpose

The purpose of the party shall be to educate and organize the working class for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers' government to achieve socialism.

## Article III Membership

Section 1. Every person who accepts the program of the party and agrees to submit to its discipline and engage actively in its work shall be eligible to membership.

Section 2. Applicants for membership shall sign an application card reading as follows "I hereby apply for membership in the Revolutionary Workers Party. I accept the program and Constitution and agree to abide by the discipline of the Party and to engage actively in its work."

Section 3. Every member must belong to a duly constituted branch of the Party in the territory where he resides, or at his place of work, if such a branch exists. In territories where no branch exists, applicants shall be admitted as members-at-large.

Section 4. All applicants for membership shall be endorsed and recommended by two persons who have been members for not less than three months. Action by the Party Branch on application for membership takes place in the absence of the applicant.

Section 5. An official membership card shall be issued to each member.

Section 6. A member desiring to leave one locality for another must apply to his branch for permission and receive a transfer card, which is to be deposited with the branch of the locality to which the member moves. If no branch exists in the new locality, the member shall become a member-at-large.

Section 7. The National Committee is empowered to accept groups or organizations of individuals, eligible under Section 1 of this Article, as members on bloc, and to assign them to the proper branches.

## Article IV. Units of Organization

Section 1. The basic unit of the Party shall be the branch formed on a territorial or occupational basis. A Branch shall consist of not less than 5 nor more than 50 members. When a branch achieves a membership of 50, it shall be subdivided into two branches. Exceptions can be made only by permission of the National Committee.

Section 2 Wherever two branches exist in the same locality, a Local Executive Committee shall be formed by elections at a joint membership meeting. Where three or more branches exist in the same locality, a Local Executive Committee shall be elected at a City Convention.

Section 3 In such cases as may be decided by the National Committee, Provincial or District Executive Committees, elected by Provincial or District membership meetings or by local or district conventions, shall be formed.

## Article V Administration

Section 1 The highest governing body of the Party is the National Convention. Its decisions shall be binding upon the entire membership.

Section 2. Between National Conventions, the authority of the Convention, subject to the decisions of the Convention itself, is invested in the National Committee elected by the Convention.

Section 3. The National Committee shall be comprised as follows;  
Par.1. There shall be--members, elected by the National Convention.  
Par.2. The National Convention shall also elect --alternates to fill vacancies in the National Committee in the order decided upon by the Convention.  
Par.3. Members of the National Committee may be dropped from the Committee and/or from the Party only by vote of the National Convention. Members of the National Committee may, however, for cause be suspended from membership and be barred from all rights as members, pending final decision of the Party Convention, by vote of two-thirds of the membership of the National Committee.

Section 4. The National Committee directs all the work of the Party, decides all the questions of policy in accord with the decisions of the Convention, appoints subordinate officers and sub-committees, including the Political Committee, and, in general, constitutes between Conventions the functioning authority of the Party.

Section 5. The local governing body of the Party shall be the Local Executive Committee, or where only one branch exists, the Branch Executive Committee. Where Provincial or District Executive Committees shall be constituted, the National Committee shall decide their relation to the Local and Branch Executive Committees.

Section 6. The Branch Executive Committee shall be elected by the membership of the Branch, and is subordinate to the branch membership. Its duties are to direct the activities of the branch, and to act with full powers for the branch between branch meetings. This section applies likewise to Local Executive Committees.

## Article VI Control Commission

Section 1. The Convention shall elect a Control Commission of three members with full authority to investigate any individual or circumstance which it may deem necessary; and shall have power to delegate any of its authority to representatives.

Section 2. The Control Commission, on completion of its investigation in each case, shall present its findings and recommendations to the Political Committee for action. Action shall be taken by the Political Committee, or by the National Committee in those cases referred to it by the Political Committee.

Section 3. In those cases where the Control Commission finds it necessary to intervene, its authority shall supersede any local investigation or trial.

Section 4. It shall be obligatory on every member of the Party to furnish the Control Commission or its authorized representatives with any information they may require.

## Article VII Initiation Fees and Dues

Section 1. Each applicant for membership shall pay an initiation fee of fifty cents, which shall be received for by an initiation stamp furnished by the National Office. The entire initiation fee shall be paid to the National Office.

Section 2. Each member shall pay a monthly dues of fifty cents which shall be received for by dues stamp furnished by the National Office through the Branch treasurer (or Local or District Treasurer), and affixed to the membership card of each member. In addition, all members are expected to make regular voluntary contributions according to their means.

Section 3. Unemployed members or housewives, not otherwise employed, shall pay twenty cents per month which is received for by a special stamp, issued by the National Office.

Section 4. Where branches are joined in Local or District Committees, twenty-five cents from the sale of each dues stamp shall go to the National Office; fifteen cents shall go to the Local or District Committee; the remainder (ten cents) shall go to the branch. Where Local or District Committees do not exist thirty five cents of each fifty cents dues shall go to the National Office. Dues of members-at-large and unemployed members shall go in full to the National Office.

Section 5. Members who are three months in arrears in payment of dues shall cease to be members in good standing, and shall be so notified by the Branch Executive Committee. Members six months in arrears shall be stricken from the rolls of the Party.

## Article VIII Discipline

Section 1. All decisions of the governing bodies of the Party are binding upon the members and subordinate bodies of the party.

Section 2. Any member or organ violating the decisions of a higher organ of the party shall be subject to disciplinary actions up to expulsion by the body having jurisdiction.

Section 3. Charges against any member shall be made in writing and the accused member shall be furnished with a copy in advance of the trial. Charges shall

be filed and heard in the branch to which the member belongs, or in a higher body which may decide to act directly in the case. Charges filed before the branch shall be considered by the Branch Executive Committee (or a sub-committee elected by it) at a meeting to which the accused member is summoned. The Branch Executive Committee shall submit a recommendation to be acted upon by the membership of the branch. Charges considered by higher bodies of the Party shall, however, be acted upon by said bodies.

Section 4. Action by any unit or organ in disciplinary cases deemed improper by a higher unit, may be changed by direct intervention of a higher body.

Section 5. Any member subjected to disciplinary action has the right to appeal to the next higher body, up to and including the National Convention. Pending action on appeal, the decision of the party body having jurisdiction remains in full force and effect.

Section 6. Persons who in the past have been expelled from the Party or who have resigned from it may not be readmitted to the Party without the approval of the National Committee.

Section 7. Questions decided by the Party Convention may be subjects of new discussions only when such discussion is formally authorized by the National Committee, or in the established pre-convention discussion period.

Section 8. Political collaboration with non-members of the Party must be formally authorized by the Party committee having jurisdiction.

#### Article IX Qualifications for Election

Section 1. Except in the case of newly organized branches, members of Local and Branch Executive Committees must have been members of the Party for at least three months, and members of the District Committee must have been members of the party for at least six months.

Section 2. Members of the National Committee must be members of the party for at least one year.

#### Article X National Conventions

Section 1. National Conventions of the Party shall be held at least every two years. Special conventions may be called by the National Committee or on the demand of branches representing one-third of the membership.

Section 2. The call for the Convention, together with an agenda and the proposals of the National Committee, shall be issued at least sixty days before the date of the Convention for discussion in the local organizations and the official publications. An Internal Bulletin shall be issued during the convention discussion period.

Section 3. Representation at the Convention shall be proportionately based upon dues-paying membership at the time of the Branch election of delegates to the Convention. The National Committee shall levy a compulsory assessment to finance the National Convention, from which totally unemployed members may be exempted. Branches organized after the Convention call shall have fraternal representation.

Section 4. Regular members of the National Committee, if not regular delegates shall be fraternal delegates to the Convention.

Section 5. The National Committee shall appoint an auditing committee to make periodic audits of the financial accounts of the National Office and national party departments and institutions, and report on same to the National Committee. Branch, local and District Committees shall appoint auditing committees to make periodic audits of the financial accounts of the corresponding party units and of party departments and institutions responsible to said unit.

#### Article XI Amendments

Amendments shall be made to this Constitution by majority vote of the National Convention.

#### Article XII Press

All organs of the Party are subject to and under the direction of the Party and the National Executive Committee.

1947-Mar-6

## **REPORT OF THE FOUNDING CONVENTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY**

On September 28-29, 1946 in Toronto, the Canadian party of the proletarian revolution was founded. Its founding was the consummation of years of patient work. The independent party of Trotskyism was dealt a crippling blow by the storm of reaction and oppression that broke out with World War II. For five long years only a small handful of workers scattered across the vastness of Canada hung on, confident of its revivification. It was not until September, 1944 that all the labors of those years, all the scattered strings, were pulled together by a convention held at Montreal.

The Montreal convention marked a high point in the history of our movement. This convention, taking place as World War II drew to a close, was the first truly national convention of Canadian Trotskyism since its appearance on Canadian soil in 1928. It was there that we set up a functioning national leadership, that we set ourselves the task of building the independent party of the Fourth International here in Canada.

But the 1944 convention was only a step – a gigantic one but still only a step, to the foundation of the Revolutionary Workers Party which took place in September, 1946. It was here that all the previous labors reached fruition. The immediate purpose of the convention was to draw the balance sheet of the past two years' work and to launch the party which we had patiently been preparing since 1944.

Now Trotskyism, with a small but full voice and under its own banner, has entered the struggle against its enemies, to win the adherence of the Canadian workers. For the first time in seven years Trotskyism exists in Canada as an independent political force.

Our party today, small though it is, has a hardened core of tested revolutionists concentrated in the main industrial areas and with substantial roots in the working class movement. There were delegates in attendance from Vancouver, Prince Rupert, Toronto and Montreal. The convention opened with the National Secretary reading expressions of solidarity from comrades scattered across the country who were unable to be with us on this inspiring occasion. There were greetings from Vancouver, Wiseton, Milnes Landing, Magna Bay, Moon lake, Windsor, and our American co-thinkers.

### **INTERNATIONAL REPORT**

The first item on the agenda was the international report. We Marxists know that the world exists as an economic unit; that in order to come to grips with the problems of the Canadian revolution it is first necessary to approach it from the world view. It was fitting that the international report should be delivered by a fraternal delegate, E. R. Frank from the SWP (Socialist Workers Party, USA), a party which has played a substantial role in our development.

Comrade Frank opened his report with a reaffirmation of the perspective of the proletarian revolution. He related how the war swept over the 4th International on a world scale... how its forces, nowhere mass parties, were unable to effectively struggle against its monstrous sweep and how its international connections were severed. Suddenly in 1943 we received word of the great revolutionary struggles that broke out in Northern Italy. As the war came to a close after 20 years of darkness and reaction, great struggles developed re-vindicating the theoretical program and the whole basis of our movement.

News broke though of our survival in every important country in Europe and of how the various sections acquitted themselves throughout the war years. Comrade Frank highlighted the heroic struggle of the parties of the 4th International... how they organized cells in the German army, published illegal papers under difficult conditions and conducted themselves in every country as Bolsheviks. Our comrades fell as martyrs before the murder squads of Hitler and the GPU. The European parties were finally, in the early part of 1944, able to establish a functioning executive committee to coordinate their work and rebuild and strengthen the movement internationally.

Thanks to the traitorous role of the Social Democrats and the Stalinists, the first great revolutionary upsurge was defeated. But the defeat is not a definitive one – capitalism has achieved a temporary equilibrium, a breathing spell — but not stability. None of the world's problems have been solved. Conditions are extremely favorable for our parties if they stand true to their program and are flexible in their tactics. The masses are being thrust into revolutionary struggle by their critical circumstances.

Comrade Frank went on to sum up the recent experiences of the SWP. After outlining its consistent opposition to the war and the imprisonment of 18 leading comrades, he described the campaign conducted by the Civil Rights Defense Committee to expose the Minneapolis trial. Relating the fruitful experiences of the SWP's trade union work, he pointed out that the SWP was now taking the first steps on the road to building a mass party.

He then sketched in some of the recent developments in Canada that point to the increasing radicalization of the working class and the great potentialities of growth that are opening up before us. This convention is laying the foundations of what will surely end with the successful revolution on the American continent.

Various comrades participated in the discussion that arose from the International report which was later adopted by a unanimous show of hands. The next session opened with the Organizational Report delivered by the National Secretary, Ross Dowson.

## ORGANIZATIONAL REPORT

Comrade Dowson drew the balance sheet of the past two years' work. At the 1944 convention we set ourselves the task of building the independent party of the Fourth International in Canada as soon as possible and we set up the organizational apparatus to achieve this end. In the intervening two years we have not only fulfilled all our objectives but have met and

conquered new tasks and responsibilities that developed. We took the material that was at hand, immature and inexperienced though it was, and moulded it to meet our needs. Comrades from factories and shops with absolutely no previous experience rose to the occasion. They became speakers, journalists, edited a paper, saw it through the print shop, and gave leadership to the party nationally.

We developed an effective weapon in Labor Challenge which first appeared in June, 1945. Labor Challenge had a meteoric growth right from the beginning. By the time we had published 5 or 6 issues we had approximately 800 paid up subscribers. In the fall the N.C. decided that it was necessary for us to make a forced march to meet new developments. We needed a twice monthly and \$1000 to launch it. This was a colossal sum of money for our movement but we managed to top our objective. At the turn of the new year we commenced to publish the twice monthly. That spring we set ourselves the task of broadening its circulation. We launched a campaign for a thousand new subscribers. The comrades rallied to the occasion and while we did not quite reach our objective, we demonstrated the real caliber of our cadres. Through the campaign and mass distributions our press, the voice of Trotskyism, has penetrated into new areas and caused considerable consternation to its opponents.

During this period we hammered out our program and clarified our perspectives. We met in 1944 under semi-illegal conditions. The war was still raging and the vicious Canada Defense Relations were still operative. A large portion of our party was in the CCF in a semi-illegal status. In the ensuing two years those comrades in the CCF conducted an effective struggle for our program. Labor Challenge played an invaluable role in the clarification of our ideas and the rallying of our forces. Today we are consummating this work with the foundation of the Canadian party.

We now have a base in the Canadian working class with members at large and branches in the key industrial centres. We have developed an effective national leadership that has been able to give political guidance to the movement despite the barriers of time and space and our poverty of forces. We have commenced the publication of an internal bulletin. We have imported and circulated across the country hundreds of pieces of Trotskyist literature. The party has been able to erect a fairly stable financial base under itself.

Comrade R. Dowson continued with the Trade Union Report. The highlight of our trade union work was the instrumental role we played in rescuing the newly developed French Canadian trade union movement from a reactionary separatist break from the rest of organized Canadian labor. Our work in this respect will go down in the history of Canadian trade unionism. We can confidently say that but for our party, development of the French Canadian working class would have been thrust back for decades.

Our party is almost completely proletarian in its membership. Because of this we have been able to exert an influence in the trade union movement completely out of proportion to our numbers. Our Vancouver comrades have great influence in the basic industrial unions in that area. In Prince Rupert we have done an effective job of popularizing certain aspects of our transitional program in the unions. One of our West Coast comrades is unable to be here with us

as he is playing a leading role in the hard rock miners' strike that is in progress now. In Toronto our work has not been so phenomenal but we are nonetheless making good headway and are at present in the process of concentrating our forces in the auto industry.

As we meet here the great strike wave is coming to a close. This strike wave has been national in scope, involving the overwhelming majority of the organized working class. The strikes were long and bitterly fought and ended in the greatest wage increases ever won by Canadian labor. The nature of the capitalist state, the bankruptcy of the reformist trade union leadership, has been exposed as never before to the most conscious elements of the Canadian working class. The next strike wave will demonstrate even more clearly the need for a new and revolutionary leadership in the unions. Our party, armed with its transitional program, will have great opportunities to grow and play a dynamic role in the coming struggles.

Comrade Bradley supplemented the organizational report with further information and comments on the struggle waged in the CCF by the Vancouver comrades. Comrade Murray Dowson remarked on recent developments in Toronto. He pointed out that it is necessary that all branches as soon as possible attempt to obtain headquarters and hold regular public meetings and study classes. We must show the workers that we are a serious political party and turn our face outwards in order to build the party.

After further supplementing the report, Comrade Whalen emphasized the point that the main field for party recruiting is in the trade union arena. We have great prestige and considerable influence in B.C. on the basis of our principled fight in the CCF and we will be able to capitalize on this in the immediate future. Comrade Stanton reported on the excellent work that the Prince Rupert comrades had done in the Boilermakers Union and the CCF Industrial Club that they had organized in the shipyards. He summed up with a general picture of our trade union work across the country. Our influence is already quite extensive and the coming period ahead is going to give us unlimited opportunities to build the party.

## **PARTY TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES**

Comrade Murray Dowson reported on Party Tasks and Perspectives. He pointed out that the Convention had already dealt with the main features of the international situation which apply not only to Europe and the colonial countries but also play their role in Canada – this is an era of continuing wars and revolutions – the death agony of capitalism. Revolutionary situations are going to follow one after another. The Fourth International will have great opportunities to grow and to lead these actions in the name of the working class and eventually to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. All the signs point to a devastating depression in the immediate future – we must prepare in Canada for a revolutionary crisis — it is imperative to build our party with the greatest possible speed.

We must not only make known our existence but we must do it in a special way: we must show the workers that our party is the only party that fights against the coming Third World War. We must make of our transitional program a living thing —adapting it to Canadian conditions,

revising it and reformulating it to meet conditions as they unfold. We must demonstrate to the Canadian workers the great practicality of our program — the practicality of the proletarian revolution. We must inspire them with its correctness and guide them in their struggles.

While this is our founding convention, unfortunately we have not had the time to present the delegates with a completely documented program. This however does not mean we have not a program — we have — it is embraced in what we call the transitional program of the Fourth International. The incoming National Committee must take upon itself the task of preparing a Declaration of Principles of the party as soon as possible.

In order to effectively meet our responsibilities it is necessary that we reinforce the National Office and concentrate our forces. We must draw the best elements from Prince Rupert and move them in to reinforce the center and Vancouver if possible. Montreal must be aided by an able and responsible comrade from the National Office so that we can take advantage of the trade union possibilities there and build a firm branch.

In order to meet the financial needs of the party it is necessary that all comrades and branches make every attempt to meet and if possible oversubscribe their sustaining quotas. Even if this is done we are still left with a considerable monthly deficit — approximately \$150.00. Immediately after this convention it is necessary to launch a financial campaign with a minimum objective of \$1500 in order to meet this deficit and stabilize the new party.

In the coming spring we must launch a drive to increase the circulation of our press. But in the meantime we should set ourselves the task of obtaining two subscriptions per month per member. This will give us a stable sub base between campaigns.

Our biggest job is to put our party on the map. Mass distributions of our paper, public meetings will not be sufficient to overcome our comparative isolation. We must demonstrate to the workers that we are a serious political party. We must enter the political arena by running candidates in elections under our own banner. The Toronto comrades must make every attempt to run someone in the coming municipal elections.

The National Office has given considerable leadership to the party in the past year — it must increase this phase of its work. This can be done in part by the publication of a combined Internal Bulletin and Party Builder. The Declaration of Principles of the party must be drawn up as soon as possible and printed in both French and English in pamphlet form.

Following the report there was considerable discussion and the report was finally adopted.

The next session was devoted to a discussion of the problem of the Montreal branch and our work amongst the French Canadian working class. Comrade Kelly gave an extensive report on the radicalization of the French Canadians. In the process of the war which speeded up the industrialization of Quebec, whole new strata of the population have been proletarianized and subsequently unionized. He outlined the various factors that are developing to make the French Canadian workers the most explosive section of the Canadian working class — who will readily find in our program an effective weapon. The decline of the CCF in Quebec and the extensive

influence of the LPP amongst the organized workers was discussed at some length with participation from the floor. After a detailed discussion on the opportunities that are opening up for the growth of our party in French Canada the convention agreed that we should have as a perspective the publication of a French language paper. In the meantime French literature should be imported from Europe and the Montreal comrades make every attempt to issue leaflets on important issues of the day.

After the report on Tasks and Perspectives was adopted as whole the convention was presented with a series of motions for its consideration. The following were adopted:

That the incoming National Committee be instructed to draft a Declaration of Principles, and publish it in the Internal Bulletin. Upon its adoption by the organization it is to be published in pamphlet form in both French and English.

That the campaign to raise \$1500 be immediately inaugurated. The P.C. draw up tentative quotas on the basis of past performances and recent developments and submit them to the branches for their approval.

That the P.C. draw up plans for a sub campaign to be held this coming spring. In the meantime the organization accept the goal of two subs per person per month in order to increase the circulation of Labor Challenge.

That M. Dowson be sent to Montreal to help organize the party there. That T. Bradley remain in Toronto to aid the National Office. That A. Macphee of Prince Rupert be requested to try to see his way clear to come to Toronto to reinforce the National Office. The remainder of the P.R. comrades be asked to try if at all possible to reinforce the Vancouver branch by moving to that city.

That the N.C. publish a regular Internal Bulletin and Party Builder.

That the Toronto branch participate in the 1946 Municipal Elections. That it extend its trade union work and speed up its educational activities.

That the Vancouver branch attempt to obtain a headquarters. That Vancouver be consolidated into one branch. That it arrange a series of forums and study classes and intensify its educational activities. That it participate in elections if at all possible.

The next session met to discuss the name of the party and its press. It took up among other things, in detail, the proposed constitution; and elected the incoming National Committee. The following motions were adopted:

That the name of the party be The Revolutionary Workers Party of Canada.

That its press continue to be known as Labor Challenge.

The proposed constitution was amended and adopted as enclosed in this bulletin.

. The National Secretary reported the suspension over the past two years of three members from the National Committee — F.W., K.J., and H.A. After a discussion of the circumstances the action of the National Committee was upheld by unanimous agreement of the delegates.

That the National Committee consist of nine (9) members with one alternate.

The following comrades were elected to the National Committee:

R Bullock	Kelly
R. Dowson	Lloyd Whalen
D. Whiteside	M. Dowson
A. Macphee	Tom Bradley
Muriel Bradley	Alternate: George Stanton

The convention decided to make formal application to the Fourth International for recognition as its Canadian section. The party adopted as its insignia the hammer and sickle with a figure 4 superimposed on them.

The convention extended its thanks to Comrade Frank for his valuable assistance and sent fraternal greetings to the SWP (USA).

Revolutionary greetings were sent to Natalia Trotsky, the companion of our martyred leader.

The delegates expressed their solidarity with the Fourth International by extending revolutionary Communist greetings to its International Executive Committee and all sections of the World Party of the Socialist Revolution.

The foundation convention of the Revolutionary Workers Party culminated in a rousing rendition of The Internationale.

April 2 1947

Dear Don;

Thanks very much for the clippings that you have been sending in. I have turned over the clippings on that bloody disgraceful labor management lets all get together rally that was held in Windsor a while ago. That was anice picture...that one of England, Burt and the big Ford bosses. As I was saying I tuned the clippings over to one of our newer comrades to write up in the form of a letter to the editor. At the present moment we have no other way of using it. But everyone reads letters to the editor. You will have to try your hand at it next time.

the other item on the Stanley Ryerson meeting was interesting but I do not know how we could use it. Newspaper reports of speeches are often very garbled and not very trustworthy. It would have been much better if you were there and you wrote up a story using some aspect of Kyersons speech for a lead.

Hope you received the requested sub-blanks alright. I suppose you received the circular letter from the P.C. on the sub drive which we plan to commence on April 15. What do you think of the Windsor quota? Can you and Evelyn handle it. I do not think it will be too tough for such experienced sub workers. If towards the end of the campaign it appears as if it is just too much we may be able to send a couple of comrades down as last year to give you a hand....but I am confident that it will not at all be necessary but possibly the two of you will have to come up here to give us a bit of help.

I think we sent you a renewal to pick up by the name of Dahter. Do not bother to go to see him as he wrote in the other day saying he was moving and would write us later. Incidentally we got a rehearsal from a Art Hopkins 1076 Windsor Ave, the other day. Do you know him.

Dont send us ~~them~~ the copies of the Fourth International that you have been saving up for binding. Our appeal was addressed to persons who might just have them lying around in the house and had no further use for them. You might as well continue to address correspondence to Labor Challenge as that is the name, the only one, we have bothered to put up on our door and mail box. When we are able to get a better and bigger headquarters we will put up both shinlges.

I hope you have been able to drop in on Maurice occassionaly. What are you and Evelyn doing to make a living now? Are you working in Ford yet? I meant to tell you before that we have made contact with a couple of young fellows in the CSU. Remind me in the next letter to give you the name of their boat. They have not shipped out yet. If they ever hit Windsor I am sure you could do some very valueable work on them...they are first rate. Has our Windsor branch been able to make good use of the Detroit branch till we get on our own feet?

All the best to both of you

comradely

Ross

Minutes of the Polit. Com. Committee RWP April 6 1947  
Present; R.D. R.B. G.S. D.W. leave of absence  
M.D. out of town

---Reported that the SWP has published an extensive internal bulletin on the Russian question and has opened a period of discussion in its ranks. Motion that sufficient copies of the bulletin be obtained and that the P.C. declare a period of discussion open in the RWP to take advantage of the publication of this material. It was pointed out that we are not in the position to publish the necessary material ourselves at what may be an even more favourable time. If any members of the party desire to develop or further amplify any aspects of the Russian question it was decided that the National Office include their material in an internal bulletin

---Report on the preparations for the publication of another internal bulletin which should be ready by Mid-May. Its contents will include; a contribution to a discussion on trade union tactics, a report of party progress since the September convention, possibly some material on the constitutional problems posed by the Vancouver branch.

---Correspondence on Summer School read--filed pending further developments.

---Correspondence on quatrième Internationale--There are few comrades with sufficient knowledge of French to take advantage of the special bundle offer. Decision to recommend to the Montreal comrades that they investigate the possibilities of bringing in a bundle and placing copies on newsstands.

---Correspondence from Montreal, Recommendation by M.D. that he remain there for a possible period of one or two years. National Secretary instructed to make further enquiries as to the situation there--further discussion pending receipt of more information.

---National Secretary reported that the I.S. letter to the RCP of Great Britain has been circulated amongst N.C. members. Four West Coast N.C. members have informed the N.O. that "the ideas expressed in the I.S. document are closely parallel to informal discussions held here." "The question has not been discussed exhaustively but all are in general agreement with the I.S. proposals". Two East Coast N.C. members in general agreement. The minutes of the RCP leading body re the I.S. letter read to P.C. National secretary instructed to draw up a statement to be sent to the I.S. and RCP stating (1) that our National Committee is in general agreement with the analysis and perspective as outlined in the January letter to the RCP (2) that we urge the RCP to earnestly reconsider the document in a comradely atmosphere (since this P.C. meeting was held the N.O. has received the RCP reply to the I.S.--the only copy will be circulated amongst the N.C. members for their consideration as soon as possible)

---Detailed report was given on the financial situation of the party. Report shows that the gains made by the financial drive have been nullified by the dropping off of the sustaining pledges during and since the campaign. Discussion on the Vancouver branch's contributions (by far the largest branch outside the centre) National Secretary reported that the financial set-up of the Vancouver branch has been changed to conform to the constitution and we can expect a rapid increase in help from them. Motion that a detailed financial report be sent out to all branches and members at large outlining the crucial situation we find ourselves in and calling for a tightening up.

---Document from Vancouver branch on members at large discussed. The P.C. of the opinion that there is no basis for the setting up of a regional apparatus in B.C. as yet...that the three or four members at large remain in that category and not become what in effect amounts to members of the Vancouver branch as none of these comrades can fulfill the qualifications of branch membership. The P.C. welcomes the calling of

the Conference scheduled for April 18, 19...but views with some misgivings the agenda which includes an item "From Propaganda group to Mass Work". Obviously this item is not in keeping with our stage of development. The agenda also includes an item "Elections". The P.C. is of the opinion that elections arising from this conference will amount to the setting up of an apparatus which we are not yet ready for and that it will be setting a dangerous organizational precedent. The National Secretary instructed to prepare a document taking up the points raised by the Vancouver statement as soon as possible.

---Discussion on the recent favourable developments with regards to the sliding scale in the trade union movement..campaign of Vancouver comrades in the IWA(CIO) and Toronto comrades in various locals. Model resolution on the sliding scale sent out to the branches and members at large approved by the P.C.

-----

April 8 1947

*Ken (Bather and McAlpin)*

Dear Murray;

Enclosed are a couple of receipts for funds that you sent in with your last letter plus a clipping from the Globe and Mail which should amuse you. As you will gather we sent in a letter to the editor protesting a column Tumpane wrote about 5 days ago. this column from today's paper is the result...OK...EH! Look out, they 'll eat you. Of course we sent the letter to the G.M with your signature looking strangely like mine.

Thank Jean for the stuff he has been sending in. We are going to write the COOP Press Assoc to see if they will put us on an and of course we will be able to get on the Dept of Labor News Rele lease if it costs no money.

Norman Epstein of 615 Bloomfield Ave...Apt 3 wrote in for a couple of extra copies of our Budenz exposure issue.

Re-booksellers. All booksellers it seems buy straight sale no returns. I am of the opinion that this should be our relationship with them particularly as we certainly are not in the position to finance ourselves let alone anyone else at the present moment. With the French pamphlets I think that it is a different matter if a dealer seems hesitant about straight sale which would be probably the case in that small shop on St.Catherine St near Park Ave.

How is the May Day article coming along? We would like to get it as soon as possible so we will have time to discuss it and make any changes if it should be at all necessary. Have you any thing else in mind that should ~~possibly~~ go in the next issue from the Quebec scene.

We wrote up the Quebec labor laws because it was big news and also it carried on our campaign against the labor laws. I gathered from the stuff that you sent in and the additional remarks and notes that Jean forwarded that you expected us to write it...and so we did. What did you think of it...Jean's mat did not arrive in time but we will be using it later.

Rather anxious to receive your report on the possibilities of the job in Montreal. If as you intimate ~~now~~ it will take much longer than six months or even a year we will certainly have to have a full discussion and possibly reconsider the advisability of having one of us in Montreal. Perhaps in the light of this it might be more profitable to go to Vancouver. ~~Now we can talk about it in more detail~~

We had the pleasure of meeting Ken again and also Jim Mitchell. Unfortunately we did not have the time that we would have liked to discuss politics with them. They did not get in touch with us until Saturday morning. We arranged a little gathering of a few of the comrades to meet them Sunday night before Jim left and on Monday morning Ken came down to the office...as I say we were busy with the paper but I received a ~~very~~ very favourable impression.

They bought about 12 dollars worth of literature. Ken is considerably closer to us and you seem to have made quite an impression on Jim. The later it is true is inclined to ~~us~~ go off half-cocked ~~him~~ and is ~~him~~ inclined to be adventuristic but this I think only reflects his youth and inexperience. He has the greatest respect for our party and is ripe to be picked. Ken is more cautious but extremely close to us and in my opinion would be quite agreeable to having us give him guidance in his fight against the right wing in Quebec. We gave him both barrels on the need to join the party ~~it~~ even if he was working in the CCYM. I thought after the Sunday night we might have scared him away but he spent all Monday morning at ~~our~~ office and not the CCF's. Todate the fight that he has been carrying on has been organizational and we pushed home the need to give it a political character...he appears to agree and in my opinion wants some help which he would readily take from us. Jim talks about giving you a hand to build our party right away. All Ken needs to be convinced of is the futility of working in the CCYM...welll we have time to show him in the process of working in the CCYM by giving him direction.

On we  
One thing that made a very good impression about Ken is his understanding of all the weaknesses of the persons whom he is working with including Sam Fogel and Maurin. Anyway my general impression is that ~~we~~ it will take little more to bring them into our ranks. They may not be the most desireable of material but both are great activists and can be exceedingly useful. I forgot to tell you that they came up to the office as soon as they got off the train on Friday morning but of course no one was there yet and thinking that we were all taking the Good Friday off they never came back until the next morning.

I understand that you did a distribution at a CCF meeting... how did it go. How ~~is~~ are the plans for the class coming on?

We too noted the Grey cartoon in the Canadian Unionist. We wrote Dowd and asked him to give us a ~~line~~ and offered to supply him the mats of anything he wanted to use. We received a nice letter in reply saying that the credit line had not appeared through an oversight and he thank us for the mat offer which he said he might take make use of on occassion.

Yarneat regards

Ross

How is the money stretching---I hear that you have been knocked out by a bad cold.

April 14 1947

Dear Murray;

Enclosed is a complete listing of all persons in Quebec and the Maritimes that are receiving the paper. You will notice that a good many of them are running out with this issue. We will keep you posted of all subs that come in to the office ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

We will send you the hundred copies of the form letter which persons having received sample copies get as soon as Ruth goes up to the printer and ~~has~~ the old letter head cut off the bottom. You will notice from the latest issue of the paper that we have listed the Metro newsstand which we gather you are going to service with the paper. Think that the idea of a post office box is a good one and we have sent you the desired letter which I hope says what you wanted it to say. No! we have not yet heard from the PCI on the book order or do we receive La Verite. I will be writing them again as soon as I get a chance. We received the English book order and I forwarded 5 copies of each to you.

The short item on the Labor Laws just arrived here in time and was just what we wanted to go with the B.C. article. We were later than we had planned in going to press as we had a hell of a lot of trouble at the printers. Two of the boys have retired... Mac and the linotype operator. Ned was working on the lino and turned out awful stuff. That accounts for the typos that appeared in this issue. Ruth had a terrible job and was not able to catch all of them. I think this is a particularly good issue for the starting of our campaign. Byron Johnson sent in six new subs to open it up this morning and the Toronto comr des have started to pick up a few.

We are going to press with this issue extra early so that it will be sure to reach the West Coast a day or so before May Day so that they can cover the May Day demonstration etc. I hope that you have the May Day Manifesto pretty well lined up as we would like to have it by this Thursday morning. We want to get as much copy as possible so that he can set Thursday and Friday. There is another item we would like covered if anything further develops... ~~XXXXXX~~ any possible demonstrations against the removal of rent ceilings that may take place in Montreal. There was an item in the Star the other day on a mass protest on the part of the CBRE and the Labor Council. If anything is going to happen anywhere in Canada on rents it will happen in Montreal. The new act goes into effect on May first this story will be ok to arrive here by April 21st.

I have at hand your letter which deals with our perspectives in Montreal. Someone ~~(name)~~ staying there for at least a year or two is of course a complete change of perspective. It would appear of course that this is necessary but in your letter of two or three paragraphs you ~~do~~ give no details of why you think this necessary. Our former perspective was based on the belief that we had three or four good contacts ~~do~~ who through a study class that they appeared desirous of attending would very shortly come into the party. In order that the comrades here discuss the matter seriously I am of the opinion that we should know your opinion of the three or four people that we thought could be brought into the party fairly

*Finally*

rapidly. (Ken, Jim Mitchell, Sullivan, Mauger, Vigneau, that former IWW friend of Art's etc.) I see that neither Sullivan nor Vigneau renewed their subs. Were we not just able to hold a class? Were you able to see those former subscribers in MacKayville and so forth.....I think that we need more information before we can discuss it...as things stand on the basis of present inofmration it is only a matter of approving your recommendations. Would you give us further information after you have got the May Day Manifesto off in the mail. we had a P.C. meeting just before we received your letter. Have not been able to get the minutes off yet but have sent you two of the letters that arose out of decisions made. Intend to have a P.C. meeting this ~~Wednesday~~ coming week-end.

No..we have heard no further from Farrell Dobbs, perhaps you had better write him direct. Bill tried to make an appointment to see some one about the Union but the person concerned was out of town(D. Archer I think) He will go around again this week. We may possibly have a person in that outfit very shortly.(Bob Cymbalisty) It appears that they are the CCL organizers of the milk drivers and Bob is in touch with them to try to get help in organizing his shop.

All the best



Ross

Glad to see that you were able to get Jean down to New York City

April 23 1947

(Dowson)

Ruth Benson

Dear Murray;

We have just got the paper cleared away. Ruth is up at the printers and so I am running through some of the correspondence that has accumulated during the last week or so to clear it up a bit.

Enclosed you will find the application form for the P.O. Box. I think I have filled it out satisfactorily.

Your attitude on the Tumpane column and our letter absolutely floors me. Obviously he would have been left with the last word with the first column if we had not sent in the letter. Of course it would never have been published if your name had not been attached. I thought that the column was terrific, however. Of course we just could not operate if it was necessary for you to approve of the letter. After all it only ~~XXXX~~ stated ideas which are commonly accepted in our movement. If it had involved ~~XXXX~~ controversial point we would either never have sent in the letter or would have sent you a request to write it. It is not desirable of course that we issue or publish in Labor Challenge anything ~~XXXX~~ under anyone's name that hasn't been approved in its final form by the author. But we also cannot hamstring ourselves on this question. I remember you and I had this argument with Frank. We took considerable liberty with material that Vancouver has sent in and published the completely revised items under Reg's name etc.

I can see that since you are going to be one of the main writers for Labor Challenge and it is desirable that your articles be published with your by-line that this is a very important matter that should be settled now before it gets more complicated. When you send in any material what privileges is the editorial staff to have in handling your copy? Since this matter has arisen I have changed my mind and am now of the opinion that your name should be removed from the mast-head of the paper and replaced with mine. ... for after all you will not have edited all the copy of the unsigned articles and the editorials. This of course flows logically from your attitude to the Tumpane letter. ~~XXXXXX~~

I think in view of the confusion that arose out of the article on Duplessis' anti-labor drive and who should write it, it would be well that as soon as you see that there is something of value to the paper developing there that you drop us a line and tell us that you are planning an article so that we can prepare a balance issue. As you can see we used Duplessis to carry the anti-labor drive. That was all that was developing and when we got all the clippings ~~XXXXXX~~ and no article we can only understand that we are expected to write it. The B.C. item appeared in the next issue.

In this issue we have an item on the Lateran Treaty. It is picked up from the editorial that appeared in the Militant. There was nothing in the IPS and I saw nothing elsewhere.

I sent you all that came in on the school run by the I.S. Do not trouble to translate as I can read it sufficiently well to know what is going on. June 15 is not very far off. Are you still planning to go? If so I will write a special letter to the I.S. asking them to permit a Canadian comrade to attend. The P.C. is meeting tomorrow and will be discussing your proposals re-Montreal.

By the way did you get Ken's very impatient letter encuring about the class and the copy of the reply I sent him. It seems to me that we have a sufficient nuclei for the class....Ellen, Jean and Art who certainly need it and who will come of Ken, Jim, Vigneau, exIWW, Sullivan, Hauger etc. We have a quaranteed base of five people. That looks good to me.

We did not do anything with Cannon's articles in ~~MAXIM~~ this issue as the May Day item took up a hell of a lot of space. We were talking about doing something with them at the last editorial meeting but decided to wait them out until all instalments have been printed. Reproduced in full in my opinion would take up too much room in our small paper---perhaps we can digest them and publish them unsigned. The first one is of course a reply to Fisher basically and to reproduce it would require reproducing Fisher's letter also. We will take the matter up in the light of your recommendation at the next editorial meeting.

I am enclosing the book order you sent to France and have also noted the change of address for La Vérité. I am also enclosing two letters on the Q.I. that I had intended to send you before. You could handle the matter of both the Internal Bulletin and the Q.I. from there as there is no one here who has any use for either. Let us know what you do and return the letters for the files.

The fight that Jeanette reported was just a little brawl that developed in the disposing of a drunken and cursing friend of one of the comrades who came to one of the socials and wouldn't leave. He took a pass at me as I gave him the bum's rush and gave me a little scratch. The printer has a new linotyper who sends down galley proofs with no mistakes in them at all. Will try to get Bill on that assignment but it doesn't look any too good as he seems to have little or no spare time. He missed one of his assignments for the paper this issue completely and the other one made the paper only because we were held up by the failure of Vancouver to send its assignment on the CCF Convention. Vancouver is distributing 2,000 copies of this issue at a May Day parade. Sent in ten dollars on account for papers.

Will bring up your suggestion of an article on the CCF at the next editorial meeting. Seems a good one to me and one that you could write from there as the library has Hansard and Ken has a very complete file of CCF papers I believe. Have you anything in mind that you can write up for the next issue.

We have a week now in which to get to work on the bulletin before we need worry about the next issue. Have you been able to do any work along this line. If I remember correctly you were going to write up something on the Toronto electoral experiences and commence the trade union discussion

Let us know just what you can do (s) Ruth and I can take the rest

comradely

Ross

ROSS

P.S. One of the Vancouver comrades, according to a letter we just received from Ellaline, got 25 subs in one day - terrific eh - I guess they'll make their quota alright.

Enclosed is another letter from Ken

*2 Aug 1948*

1946-1953 WINDSOR

stack for the store.

How is our branch coming along? I see you have been sending the odd sub in. Are any of them moving much closer to us....are you able to get any of your shopmates over to the Detroit classes etc.

April 24 1947

Dear Don and Eleanor;

Thanks for your terrific response to the financial needs of our party. You know when you sit in this office down here all day and are tied up with the paper and correspondence with Vancouver and Montreal you begin to think the world revolves around those three points but every once in a while we get a real shot in the arm like the one that you have just given us. It throws you back onto the ground and you realize the influence of our ideas and our paper. In other big cities where we have not yet been able to form a branch and in small one horse towns scattered across the country there are individual comrades doing their bit, doing their best under the circumstances that confront them. We had another pleasant surprise along this line just a few days ago when a friend of a comrade in Edmonton wrote us in a letter which enclosed 25 campaign subs and asked us if we could send him my blanks.

We have just finished mailing the May issue of the paper. It looks pretty good to me. Your bundle is on the desk before me and will be in the mail shortly. We have just sent out 2,000 copies to Vancouver. The comrades there are planning to do a big distribution at the May Day Parade that is being held ~~XXX~~. A comrade who lives near Victoria also wanted to do a distribution there but we have checked up and found that they would not arrive there in time. What is the situation in Windsor. I suppose the Stalinists will be holding a mass meeting. Would the two of you with the aid of another comrade from Detroit be able to handle a distribution there. I think it would be a good idea if you could arrange it. We have some papers we could spare. I will send this letter airmail just in case. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~. If you can wire me at the office and I will express a bundle ~~XXXXXXXX~~

Have you seen Morris lately? We have had no word for sometime but of course now that the manufacturers have had their price rises I suppose he does not have to come in to Toronto anymore to get stock for the store.

How is our branch coming along? I see you have been sending the odd sub in. Are any of them moving much closer to us....are you able to get any of your shopmates over to the Detroit classes etc. When I was there during the Ford strike I met a fellow who was an excellent type. Helped Eleanor and I distribute the paper at a mass meeting. I understand he has returned to Windsor. His name is Godfellow. Perhaps you can locate him. Your father might know as he was in the CCF. I say excellent in the sense that he appeared to agree with us and willing to do a certain amount of work. I do not think that he is much of a fighter or any too bright but if we could locate him he might be useful.

over

I had better get this letter off in the mail . it is now Saturday and I commenced it on Thursday but had to drop it for more pressing events. I am trying to get on the voters list while the list is still open XXXXXXXX I may run in the civic election next fall.....I have had to chase all over the town.

Drop us a line when you get a chance

We are expecting to receive the first batch of subs from Windsor at any moment. Hope we can send someone down to give you a hand if necessary but I am sure that with such a team as yourselves it will be more likely that you will come up here to give us aid.

Ross

Dear Murray;

We did not have a forum last night as we are arranging to have the May day meeting on Thursday ---so we managed to have a P.C. meeting .

We discussed the Montreal situation in some detail on the basis of your letters etc. The P.C. is unanimously of the opinion that you should continue on there for an indefinite period ("one to two years?????) We also decided to recommend to the N.C. that your name be replaced by mine on the paper.

Incidentally as things stand I am able to run for municipal office on the basis of the renting of 87 King W. I have had it changed over at the assessment office to my name.

Will write later

*PNW Jus of review*

E4 1944-57 MTL

April 29 1947

*Marie (Bédard)*

Dear Jean;

Here is the information on the package that you contemplate sending over to Europe.

The package must be no more than 72 inches in over all length and girth. Maximum weight is twenty pounds. The postage costs either \$3.50 or \$3.75 I am not sure which. Send it to

Mme Marie Rose Barland  
5 rue 29 de Juillet  
Paris 1, France

On the customs declaration that you will have to fill out and affix to the parcel you will find a place where it states abandon... cross this out and put in the following alternative address

Albert Demaziere  
9 bis rue de Alesia  
Paris 14  
France. ....I think that this is all that is necessary.

Thanks for the CCL Newsletters that you have been forwarding. We are now getting the newsletter sent into the office direct from Ottawa so you will not have to go to the trouble of continuing to send it. We have written to get the CCF newsletter and the Dept. of Labor releases but are not getting them yet.

Glad to hear that you are doing so well in the dairy field. One of our comrades here is trying to organize the small dairy that he works in. I suppose that you know the CIO here in Ontario is organizing them under the Retail Wholesale and Department Store Union....Murray has no doubt told you about the St. Louis situation

All the best

comradely

*Ross*

Ross

## The R.W.P. and internationalism

*(From R.D.'s speech notes found in 1947)*

In the past 6 or 7 months, the Revolutionary Workers Party, the RWP, through various spokesmen, has analyzed and discussed many aspects of the Canadian and international scene. We have dealt on this platform with the coming depression in Canada. We have also dealt with the lessons of the great strike wave of last summer and fall, but predominantly we have discussed the lessons of the class struggle as it unfolds in England, France and occupied Europe, as well as India, Indonesia and so forth – generally, the problems and tasks confronting the world working class.

Our movement has always been distinguished for its internationalism, for its great preoccupation in the problems of our class internationally. We began in 1928 with the struggle for internationalism against the dogma of "socialism in one country." We said then and we say now that the modern world is an economic unit. That not a single important problem, and certainly not the most important problem, the socialist reorganization of society, can be solved on national grounds.

Internationalism as we Trotskyists conceive of it, means first of all international collaboration. But this collaboration does not only signify discussion of the problems and tasks of co-thinkers in other countries, but also the solution of these problems, above all our own specific problems **in action.**

We have nothing but contempt for those who set themselves up as commentators on foreign affairs or who limit themselves to the role of Red Cross societies to aid other revolutions or revolutionists in other countries – as necessary as this latter may be.

We will have none of that one-sided internationalism – preoccupation with far-off questions to the exclusion and neglect of the burning problems on one's doorstep. This is only a caricature of internationalism.

We are internationalists because the world exists as an economic unit, and that in order to have a correct orientation here in Canada one must have a correct understanding of the international scene.

But our party, the RWP, can justify its existence only if, beginning with an international program, it succeeds in applying this program to conditions of Canadian life, and confirming it in action.

Trotskyism is a world doctrine and concerns itself with all questions of world import – but let us not forget that Canada is part of the world, and a part which is of considerable importance.

We Marxists approach the question of the Canadian Revolution from an analysis first of all of the objective factors that are in play. These are fundamental. If the objective factors do not exist or are not in the process of developing then the revolution is an idle dream. To approach the question

in any other manner, is unrealistic – mere wishful thinking, utopianism – no matter how revolutionary-minded its proponents may be.

It would be a criminal error to ignore the great power of our enemy – the Canadian bourgeoisie. Developed as a great force not only in its own national borders but on the international scene, in the struggle for the world market. But we are not hypnotized by the superficial appearance of things; we also see its inherent weaknesses, the contradictions which it cannot escape and that new and even greater power which it has created, but which will be its grave-digger – the Canadian working class.

The great boom of the Twenties nourished the myth of Canadian exceptionalism. Business was booming, jobs were plentiful and gold seemed to be flowing from a perpetual cornucopia. Europe and the world seemed to be a market that was bottomless. Canada as a country was developing to the North and West. Suddenly when it seemed as if it would never cease, the whole bottom fell out.

The boom around the corner never came, only a partial upswing in 1934-37. Hundreds of thousands of workers walked the streets, lost their homes and farms, and went on relief. Depression proved to be not merely a cyclical crisis leading to higher productive levels, but a permanent depression resulting from the concentration of wealth in fewer hands, and the limitations of the home market and the contracting world market – prepared by the very capitalist boom that had preceded it.

Only war solved it – but it solved nothing.

Today's boom is based on shortage of consumer goods resulting from war production. The world market was disrupted and bankrupt. Europe this time was a drain in the shape of Lend-Lease. The country was saddled with an astronomical debt, increased productivity yet with a market not expanded, with inflation, and an increased military budget. Bourgeois economists entered the post-war world with fears and doubts.

What chance has the boom that we are living under today have of (*producing*) a different ending than that of the Twenties? It can only be different in so far as the crisis must go deeper and have more devastating consequences, and must come sooner than the Twenties.

The Canadian workers that confront the next crisis – that class which will take its blows and suffer its agonies, will not be that helpless mass which met the crisis of the Thirties in complete bewilderment, fear and with certain elements of despair. The proletariat is more numerous with Canada's increased industrialization. It is more highly organized – almost two and one-half times as many – over 700,000 members, not the 300,000 of 1935. It is not just an increase in numbers, but in the Twenties the bulk of organized workers were the crafts, skilled and privileged workers who were conservative. Now the most decisive sections is the organized mass production workers.

These unions were already put to the test last summer and fall. They demonstrated their great power and solidarity such as the 37,000 IWA workers. A terrific metamorphosis took place in a little over a decade, with the commencement of the Oshawa UAW drive. Capitalism produced this

mighty class. It took the habitant, the bankrupt Western farmer, the bankrupt shopkeeper – and women – marched them into socially operated industry, the assembly line, abused them, mistreated them and forged them into a mighty unified grouping.

These workers have already demonstrated their militancy, resourcefulness and ingenuity. (*Recall*) the CSU, anchored outside the harbor, the canal battles; the UAW, the motor barricades. Next in order – and not far away – comes their political awakening. That will be at the same pace and on the same scale. They will learn politics as they learned trade unionism from an abridged dictionary? At first they will feel their way but when they commence to move they will do so with hurricane speed and power.

The working class as a whole is infected by the poison of reformism either of the classic "Socialist" variety or the Stalinist brand. Much has been made of the backwardness of the Canadian workers as justification for a pessimistic outlook and indefinite postponement of the socialist revolution. This is superficial, a failure to look at them in development.

True, the CCF has not yet been put in power. The trade union leadership is conservative, lacks experience. But under the compulsion of necessity, backward classes find themselves driven to clear great distances in single leaps. (*For example, the*) French Canadian went directly from being a habitant to being a union member. The rise of the trade unions proves it.

Is the high standard of living a barrier to the Canadian workers' development – is it a conservatizing factor? It is only a conservative factor under conditions of stability, where the standard can be maintained and improved. Today the very standard of living of the Canadian workers is a radicalizing force – driving him to struggle. He reacts violently and sensitively to any cut in it.

Under the impact of great events and pressing necessities the Canadian workers will advance and acquire class consciousness and organization. Yes, all the objective factors are ripening for the Canadian revolution.

But failing the leadership of a revolutionary party the most favorable revolutionary situations which arise from the objective circumstances cannot be carried through to the final victory of the workers and the beginnings of the socialist order. The decisive instrument of the proletarian revolution is the party of the class conscious vanguard.

This was demonstrated in the 1917 Russian Revolution. And again in all the revolutions and colonial uprisings that followed 1914.

The revolutionary party in Canada today is small and weak. But does this mean that it is idle to speak of revolutionary possibilities? The flaw posed in this argument which is so often advanced is the isolation of the revolutionary parties, their relative numerical weakness at a particular moment from the totality of objective economic and political development, which create all the conditions for its growth.

But, given the objectively revolutionary situation, a proletarian party – even a small one – equipped with a precisely worked out Marxist program and firm cadres can expand its forces and come to the head of the revolutionary mass movement in a comparatively brief space of time – the example of the Russian Revolution is before us.

Numerical weakness is a weakness to be overcome by persistent work and resolute struggle. Our party, the RWP, is the party of the proletarian revolution. It is the task of all class conscious workers to join this party and aid in building it and making it an effective force. Our party is small though it is a great party. It's a strong party built on the granite rock of Marxism. It's a party with a great record and a stainless banner with great experience and tradition.

Our analysis has shown that the present boom is rapidly heading toward a crisis and that this will be a profound social crisis which can lead to an objectively revolutionary situation. Our analysis has shown that the workers have already demonstrated the capacity to move massively and militantly in the field of trade unionism – they will move even more massively and with ever greater speed on the political field in the days to come.

The objective prerequisites will not be lacking. Capitalism itself will provide them. The manpower of the revolution will not be lacking either. It is already partly assembled and partly prepared. The rest is our part – to build the RWP, to make it strong, powerful with its influence deep into the working class movement, to lead the workers to victory.

*(end)*

## **"INDEPENDENCE FOR INDIA"**

(From R.D.'s speech notes found in 1946/47 – India place names not checked)

(Undated, evidently Spring 1947—only significant editorial additions in italics)

On March 16, (British) Labor Party Prime Minister Attlee announced to the world an offer to India of complete independence – not Dominion status, but complete independence. It was the mission of Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary for State of India, and Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty. The Liberal press and Social Democratic press greeted the proclamation with great enthusiasm along with the CCF News.

The British labor government has strengthened world confidence in its foreign and imperial objectives by its clear declaration of independence for India. The British labor government will be applauded everywhere; the CCF greets its declared policy and action on India with enthusiasm and pride. The (British) House of Commons —violently opposed to the repeal of the Trade Disputes Act — which was anti-labor, met the announcement with three-quarters seats empty.

There was no controversy over what Attlee was going to do to the “Brightest jewel in the Empire crown.” The bosses were trusting after Egypt and the demand of unconditional surrender by Attlee of the Naval Mutiny -- and Greece, and Indonesia. That there had been no fundamental change in policy is proven by statements of the Conservative MPs and Attlee’s reply. The Conservative MP Butler voiced no opposition but remarked that Indians could have independence as long as they themselves frame the constitution. The Conservative Godfrey Nicholson said: “There is grave danger that it may be thought the Commission is going to India to bring back a solution to the Indian problem. I believe the main object of the debate is to impress on this country and India that we know there is no clear cut solution to this problem.”

Let there be no illusions as to the real intentions of the Attlee government. We will examine more closely his further statements: “Independence is not being given today or tomorrow, nor is it being offered without the constant and fundamental demand that the Indians must themselves agree on their future constitution. If she elects for ‘independence’ it will be for us to help to make the transition as smooth as possible.”

Arthur Greenwood, Labor MP and Lord Privy Seal, reassured the wealthy bond-holders and coupon clippers that no genuine action was contemplated, with a lofty speech on freedom. “Freedom is not an honour you confer. It’s a precious prize which you have got to win and earn. We cannot give freedom to India. We cannot make them happy and prosperous. The most magnificent thing we can do is to create the conditions that will enable them to live freely their own lives with honour and dignity.” Greenwood tells the Indians that they have to win freedom. They have been struggling for 250 years against British suppression.

Attlee is under the pressure of the recent revolutionary upsurge that swept through India, and under the pressure of the British air force men who conducted massive strikes in their refusal to carry on the English occupation of India, and demand to return home. Also, the discontent in his own party, and the British working class. In an urgent appeal to British imperialism to save its

great interests, this defender of the British Empire pointed out: "The tide of nationalism is running very fast in India. It has spread even to those wonderful soldiers who are the mainstay of British forces overseas. It is no good to apply the formulas of the past to the present. The temperature of 1946 is not the temperature of 1920 or 1930 or of even 1942."

This lap-dog of British imperialism warns his masters of the danger of losing India. He is correct: the temperature of 1920 and 1930 is not even the temperature of 1942. The masses arose to express a protest against the arrest of members of the Congress Working Committee, of Congress leaders, and broke through the non-violence shell of Ghandi and Congress to prove that they are revolutionary. They tied up the city of Bombay, the buses and trains. On Monday, barricades appeared on the streets, they attacked police stations and other seats of government, of power. On Wednesday the military police recaptured the streets. The mass movements were largely confined to petty bourgeois masses, with the leadership in the hands of Congress. Mills were closed in Bombay by Congress and mill owners, after only a few small strikes.

In Bombay they have a Congress government, in which anti-working class legislation was passed. There is plenty of work, and family earnings are higher than in old days. In the anti-war strikes in October 1939 it was the workers (who took the initiative). On August 10, 1942 a strike spread to the provinces on the borders of Burma. At Bangalore students led attacks against the Indian Princes and the British Raj and were supported by the workers. The Stalinists opposed this movement – their meetings were broken up by violent crowds. At Kerala – under the stranglehold of Stalinism in the South – there was no action.

In the central provinces and Berar, great struggles of workers followed the Congress. Bihar was the storm centre and there the peasantry set up the Swaraj governments. Their jurisdiction extended over a few villages – it lasted only a few days. These peasant governments developed in the most semi-feudal landlord-ridden area.

No independent working class program banner or slogans appeared – only the usual bourgeois slogans "Release of the Congress leaders, for a National government," etc. The workers were paralyzed, they had no line of march, and failed to understand the peasant struggles that raged in the provinces. They thought the Congress bourgeoisie was their friend. Confusion and doubt paralyzed the masses, and the imperialists struck with machine guns, tanks and planes.

#### The temperature of 1946

Not only was Ghandi's non-violence repudiated, but the entire leadership was out of the hands of Congress, and it had developed militant slogans. The appeal for support from the Central Naval Strike Committee to the Communist Party and Congress met with no response. Sadar Patel, the member of the Congress Working Committee, urged the strikers and people to do nothing to "aggravate the present state of high tension." Ghandi called for an end of this thoughtless orgy of violence. Nehru and others sent peace squads into Madras and Delhi, etc. joined by the Stalinists. The temperature was generated by famine. The difference in the temperature of the struggle compelled the setting up of the new communism, with its new

demagogic statements and promises. Can we take these (Stalinist) promises as vague and distant as they are, as good coin? Look at their record in Greece, Egypt, Palestine and Indonesia.

Already Attlee's statement has received his desired answer: "independence is not being given today or tomorrow, nor is it being offered without the constant and fundamental demand that the Indians must themselves agree on their future constitution" – the same as Churchill's promise – the fault is in yourselves.

Attlee was taken up by Sir John Anderson and Mohammed Ali Junal, the former Congress leader and President of the Moslem League – tool of the powerful land owning and holding classes, and stooge of British imperialist oppression, who replied with the demand of Pakistan as a separate National State, and threatened civil war if the British and Congress rejected Pakistan: "If it is a question of who can shed more blood, the Moslems can and will play a part; if driven to desperation, that will bring about a real civil war."

Out of a hundred persons, 68 are Hindus and 22 Moslems. Until recent times comparative peace between Moslems and Hindus existed. The British adopted the policy of divide and rule; when Congress developed, the British organized Moslem organizations and law. The Province of Bengal was divided into Moslem and Hindu sections to check the rapidly growing strength of the Hindu community. The "Divide and Rule" policy was officially endorsed by Lord Elphinstone Gooder in 1858. The Moslem League was repudiated decisively at the 1937 elections when it won only 104 out of the 480 Seats reserved for Moslems in the provincial legislature, and received only 300,000 votes out of the 7 million cast by Moslems.

Already Cripps, Alexander, Pethick and Lawrence have been justified for a failure of a mission and the continuance of British imperialist exploitation. Cripp's mission to India was as a stooge for the Tory War Cabinet; the failure of Cripps mission was also supposedly based on internal differences in India between Moslems and Hindus. The proposals of Cripps were: British rule in India until the end of the War; native princes who autocratically rule 93 million remain to do as they please; they can reject the constitution and remain outside the India Union, or appoint 25% of the delegates to the constitution-making body; the princes are to be maintained by British bayonets.

Congress rejected Britain's offer to continue maintenance of Native States, under pressure of its members. Cripps proclaimed the plan was designed to protect minorities – the Moslems, but the franchise was limited to those with property and education – 36 million, out of over 300 million enfranchised in the provincial elections of 1937 – the plan was a farce in regard to the protection of minorities. Cripp's statement on the breakdown of negotiations was: "The War Cabinet was in a position rather like an arbitrator who tries to arrange a fair compromise between conflicting points of views of Moslem and Hindu."

The temperature of '46 and that of '42; the tide of nationalism is running very fast – what is the tide and temperature of 1946?

The Naval Mutiny of Bombay, Feb. 21: 7,000 seamen cry "Long Live the Revolution,"

“Solidarity with the Indonesians.” It started off as a protest against low pay, poor food, and racial discrimination. Sympathy strikes paralyzed Bombay. The masses directed fire against the British administration and suppressors. Nine banks, thirty shops, ten post offices, 107 police stations, and twenty-two government granaries and clothing shops were lost. Three hundred were killed and thousands wounded.

The strikes spread to Jubhulpore, 550 miles northeast of Bombay. 2,500 Indian troops marched out of barracks on February 27, and paraded through the town bearing banners of the India Congress and the Moslem League side by side. In Bombay province, 45,000 primary school teachers went on strike, demanding increases to bring their pay up to \$10 a month. On March 7, a British-American Victory Parade staged at Delhi to intimidate the masses only aroused the greatest counter-demonstrations since 1942. Crowds of over 20,000 tore down the Victory demonstrations (banners), and set fire to Town Hall, destroying the hated records.

A few days ago the press reported demonstrations of Police which took place, in which a few hundred refused to obey orders, and went on strike, and were imprisoned. Native Navy troops and police were unreliable for British use. Moslems and Hindus were united in struggle, a struggle directed against British oppression more sharply, a struggle developed in opposition to the Congress leaders and strikes in industry by workers.

Today more sharply than ever is British capitalism faced with the loss of her greatest source of strength. Its total capital investment was \$7.8 billion, its annual average return \$900 million. One-tenth of British export trade goes to India, and that represents 70% of Indian imports. With the rise of the independence of the Dominions, India takes on a greater relative position; once the source of primary accumulation, it is now one of the sole sources of revenue. Lord Rothmere said in 1930: “If we lose India, the Empire must collapse first economically then politically.”

Britain’s exploitation was increasing: in 1911; British investments were 11% of overseas holdings, by 1937 they were 27%. The vast profits come from railways, mines, plantations, also covering payment for British troops, Government orders for supplies, civil service wages and pensions. All this would end by national independence. The pillage of India was the backbone of British imperialism. The loss of India would produce a social revolution in England. Under no conditions will the ruling class give up its basis of existence – it can only be torn from her.

The native Princes:

After the Revolt of 1857, the British changed their policy, seeking a basis of social and political support; the British stopped annexing Indian States into British India, and guaranteed the remnants of the feudal rulers their privileges, etc. as islands of defence of Great Britain within the vast scene.

The Landlords:

As supporters of British rule, they were extended in modern times due to the bankruptcy of the small landholders. They were linked in interests by investment and mortgage to the Indian capitalist class. The total agrarian debt is \$4.5 million on interest rates from 25% to 200%. There are 270 million peasants, and 40 million unemployed agricultural workers. In Bengal, the total

annual taxation rate is 40% of the total harvest value; 25% of the peasantry in Bengal is landless. In Bombay, 2 million families own from one to 25 acres, and one and half million own less than 5 acres. The landlords are subservient to British imperialism, and are a great obstacle to agricultural development which demands liquidation of landlordism.

### The Bourgeoisie

In the absence of an independent workers' movement, it is assured the leadership of a national political movement. The Indian National Congress, at first adopting a conciliatory role and living on the crumbs (of British rule), betrayed the struggle in 1922, condemning the no-tax campaign of the peasantry. In 1934 the struggles of the masses went beyond Ghandi's Eleven-Point Program that reflected the needs of Indian capitalists. Ghandi opposed this struggle. Since 1934, (the bourgeoisie) used their movement as a lever to gain concessions. They transferred the scene of action to the parliamentary field, attempting to establish a new constitution to get maximum benefits for themselves. They were forced again into violent opposition by the War in 1939 exercising a policy of non-violence and along narrow aims, afraid that otherwise their leadership would pass to other hands.

### The Peasantry

This class is 70% of the population, taking on revolutionary forms due to debt and land hunger. The peasantry is isolated and scattered in character, historically and politically backward, lacking in inner cohesion, and with the conflicting aims of various strata, it is impossible for it to play an independent role, (as could) the rising agricultural proletariat.

### The Industrial Proletariat

This class numbers about 5 million, chiefly in light industry. It has undergone great growth. The degree of concentration is high due to recent development; a gauge of its role is not determined by its size but by its position in the economy. Wage rates in the Bombay area are the highest, with a man earning 27 cents a day and a child 7 cents a day. It has a militant, short history.

World War II has increased the power of native capitalism, which is out to increase its holdings and share of the spoils of war, and its grip on the country. The yoke of Britain sits on them lightly. Their party is the Indian Congress Party, which fetters the struggle with its policy of non-violence. The Congress Party will take the road of struggle (for independence) only under the pressure of the opposition to the recent wave (of strikes). It is linked up financially with the great landowning class, and it will never carry out the struggle for independence; it opposes the struggles of the great masses of peasants.

The Communist Party of India condemned the struggle during the War, carrying out a policy inspired by the Soviet bureaucracy; while the Congress leaders were imprisoned, the Stalinists were legal.

National liberation can only be won through agrarian revolution. The driving force is the agrarian crisis; the demand of the land-hungry masses for land, and opposition to oppressive

government taxation and landlord rent and usury. History tells us that the peasants cannot succeed unless supported by the workers. Only the proletariat is capable of leading the struggle against British imperialism and the native oppressors. The proletariat needs a party that is steeled for the great struggle. This party exists in India: the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India.

(end of notes)

RW Janib Revue  
(Not Dad)

EU 1944-57 MR

not much of writing no book and new book sent  
and book about and not been sent and not yet sent May 5 1947, 000, 00  
not much excited about them and not being sent like now and radio  
of books and so... and exciting for them not to, the book and exist  
the writing of the books about the new book exists  
of Bear Murray, which is the same book exists  
as well written as most of the books were now book no exist if it is  
shipped off on Saturday's mail the complete order of  
French language books except for two copies of La lutte des  
Trotskyistes sous la terreur Nazie. Either they did not fill the  
order accurately or they were short of some books but here is the  
list of stuff that you should have received to now if the rest  
billed as follows

as... various view of the book not quite as the others do not	
exist no copies of La lutte des Trotskyistes	2.00
8 copies of Catastrophe imminente	1.60
10 copies Nationale socialisme	.06
6 copies of Marxisme et notre époque	.30
	560 francs

viebemco

The franc at the time of our last letter was worth .86 cents  
so I am of the opinion that the prices should be as follows;

La lutte	.25 cents	2.00
catastrophe	.25 cents	2.00
nationale	.10 cents	1.00
Marxisme	.35 cents	3.00

for \$7.40 added to the montreal  
for literature account

If I do not hear any further from you we will take for  
granted that you think these prices are alright. We will pay for the  
French literature from this end with no funds. Besides of  
sent word for I am a book doesn't exist to tell a man book sale  
so you can't tell him we have received Ken's check and will cash them when  
the date comes up. and this is not now tell me to you a

Glad to see that the study class is well under way. With regards  
to Sutherland's plans----I have looked through the books here and  
there is a copy of Specator's course but 30 of the 86 pages are miss  
ing so it is hardly worthwhile to send it down. I have asked Ruth  
to check and see if you have a copy of the course or the missing 30  
pages at your house as I seem to have a foggy recollection that you  
were going to study it. I have a copy at our house but am not fussy  
about sending it if there is no other one around. I seem to remember  
Jean having a set in that bureau of his. I glanced through what was  
here and am of the opinion that it would be useless to Ken as it  
presupposes already a considerable knowledge. It appears to be just  
a series of coordinated whole slices out of the classics and that is  
all. Jean has other classes---on Fascism, Basic Elements of Marxism  
etc....if Jean hasn't Art has them as we sent them a copy of all the  
courses. I think it would be better if we could get him to give a  
course if he is insistant on doing so on Fascism or the Basic  
Study course that uses Socialism on Trial....something which he could  
handle and which has more immediate and more obvious application to  
the problems confronting these CCMers.

The old man has sold his books on printing to Kenny for \$3,000.00. He has already got one thousand in his hands and the other two will be paid in the next two weeks before Kenny can take the books out. You would not recognize him ...he is going to get glasses and teeth and is already dressing up to quite an extent. He is like an old woman now about his health and food etc. He is up at the house recuperating from an imaginary illness. He is cooking up some scheme to work us in closer to him...he wants all of the boys to go into some screwball business with him with the rest of the books. He has the dough and is ready to pay you off for what you loaned him so Europe may be within your reach after all if you can be spared from Montreal just long enough.

The old man is expecting you into town very shortly...as we also are I will not take up any of the other matters that you raise in your last letter.

10

500

© 2002 The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. All Rights Reserved.

234

110

10. *Constitutive and regulatory genes in the *hsp70* and *hsp90* loci of *Escherichia coli**

226-231 (1987)

comradely

R. —

... and, I think, a real jewel just now to add to my only one  
possessing a continuous series until that **Ross** one which is  
of

95

200

— 10 —

卷之三

2010 (2010) 05, 1–12 (2010) 2010

Jeanette sold this fellow a sub to the paperman

Minion and of Helene CLA.G. Gagnon

he asked for a list of books that we handle. I think we should also send him a list of the french books. As I do not know the titles (they are not given in full on the bill) I am sending you a copy of our list onto which you can add the french and mail him

Present: R.D., R.B., G.S., M.D., (D.W. leave of absence)

International Press Service---Report of I.P.S. request that a regular correspondent be appointed for Canada. Motion that M.D. be appt'd until such time as the center is in a position to handle this work.

Report given to P.C. on the International Cadre School set up by the International Secretariat of the F.I. last year. On the basis of last year's experiences the I.S. has decided to continue the school this year, the coming session to commence June 15th and end August 15th, school to be divided into two groups one instructed in English and the other in French, all sections of the F.I. instructed to recommend candidates. We understand that candidates will be maintained while at the school by the I.S. The ensuing discussion stressed the importance of the Canadian section sending someone if at all possible. Person should already have a fair marxist education, preferably a worker and one who has proven himself in the party. The Canadian party's present financial condition does not permit it to finance the comrades' trip to France. None of the P.C. members can be spared even for this great opportunity from their present obligations to the party. National Secretary instructed to inform all members of the P.C. of full particulars and to ask to be informed as soon as possible if any of them are available or if they have any members in mind whom they would like to recommend. The P.C. will consider, in the light of the necessary qualifications, all names submitted at its next meeting. National Secretary reported that there has been no further information as to whether the Trotsky School will be held this year by the S.P. Announcement of the Mid-West Camp has already appeared in the Militant. We are expecting further information shortly.

Motion that the R.P. cable a protest against the arrest of our Indian comrades.

extensive report by M.D. on situation in Montreal where he has been assigned to work for an indefinite period. Making extensive moves towards building a base under the favourable trade union situation there. Study class commenced a few weeks ago and is making good progress... possibility of having a branch there of 5 or 6 people in the next few months.

Report by National Secretary on the Vancouver situation. Further discussion on the constitutional question and membership at large that Vancouver has raised. It was felt that the motivation of the Vancouver Branch to have its executive recognized as Provincial Executive is based on a desire to aid the organizational work in the province. Past position of the P.C. reaffirmed. Motion that the P.C. members in Vancouver(5) be recognized as a temporary Organizational Committee for the province of B.C. until such time as other branches come into existence and a genuine Provincial Executive Committee can be set up. This temporary Organizational Committee is to be responsible to the National Committee of the party. Vancouver secretary has informed N.C. that p.n.'s in limits signified party names (Motion that branch develop and assign a system of p.n.'s 18-3-47) The P.C. that this information coupled with other recent information possibly signifies a tendency on the part of the Vancouver comrades to withdraw into themselves "in the interests of security". This tendency must not be permitted to develop. The only defense that our party has against police suppression and decapitation is to build its forces as rapidly as

as possible and to spread its roots deep into the mass organizations of the working class.

Financial situation.....there has been an improvement in the situation in so far as contributions from the members at large but this is of no great consequence towards a fundamental solution of the problem. Toronto and Montreal their maximum load....Vancouver remains the only section of the party where a substantial improvement could be made. As yet there has been no change in Vancouver's contribution but a report is expected monthly. Discussion on the possibility of having to skip and issue or two of the paper during the summer months unless immediate aid given to the H.O. Motion to postpone any decisions until receipt of Vancouver report.

Discussion on the advisability of removing H.D.'s name from the masthead of Labor Challenge since he has been transferred to Montreal for an indefinite period. Decision to retain H.D. as nominal editor.

RDW - Jan '56 Papers  
(CONT)

E4 1946-1953 WINDSOR

May 21 1947

Dear Don;

By now you should have received twenty copies of the mid-May issue of the paper that you requested for sub work. We will step up your bundle for the duration of the campaign to that number.

Glad to see that you got off to a good start. INGAMAR in the sub drive. I gather that the subs are the result of some door to door work. I was all set to write you a letter of a completely different sort this morning until we received your short note and the enclosed subs.

Yor letter of the 4th took a little of my breath away but everything is now back to normal. I always agreed with you whenever you used to talk to me about the great importance of the city of Windsor in our scheme to build the Canadian party of the proletarian revolution. Our only regret was our inability to send down a capable comrade to give you a hand at building a branch there, but you know what yoooooosaid in your last letter. Why hell I got the impression that you had become a member of the Detroit branch. That instead of us using Detroit and all its facilities to help build the Windsor branch, Detroit had taken you over lock stock and barrel. Welcome pale back into the ranks of the Canadian party once again.

But in all seriousness.....I know that many of the subs that we obtained in Windsor last year were pressured...but even on this basis they were a pretty selected group of proletarians. Probably many of them di not read the paper and I see that at some houses you got the response that we did..Too red, Communist. We here in Toronto did not bother arguing with them when it came to renewals because as you say

the paper certainly speaks for itslef. But in my opinion the ren ewal work in Windsor is a thousand more times important than anything that you can do in Detroit. After all they have dozens of comrades and we have only one Dotzert in Windsor. By hook or by crook we have to make some working class contacts in Windsor and if it required going to see every one of the former subscribers ~~INFORMATION~~ through thunderstorms it would be well worht it as we have no other avenue of approach in that town, except through your place of work. You never know but it might possibly turn up one --- just one worker who is interested. One more worker would be 100 % growth numerically and who knows he might become a much better revolutionary than either you or I.. You know one revolutionary is worth a hell of a lot of work and energy.

In my opinion sub work is the most important work we have to do.. partiualrly in Windsor where we have as yet no branch. The paper has always been the party organizer...and for a party in our stage of development this is even more true than let us say the SWP. It is our voice.. And practically our only voice as we are not an influence in any section of the labor movement, we have no leaders or figures that have the respect of the workers etc.. Our party is a paper todate. And you never know just where a paper will end up even though the subscriber is himself not much good. Perhaps a subsciber may only get one ideaout of it and as conditions change he may see the truth of that idea and fight

I dont mind the ~~EX~~complaint that the paper is too radical—for as conditions change these same fellows are going to learn that they will need to be radical. Do you remeber reading a letter in the readers column in the Militant. It seems that some women had borrowed a book of someone who had wrapped it up in an old copy of the Militant. The borrower unwrapped the cover and read it and sent in for a sub to the best paper she had ever read. Now don't suggest we change the size of the paper so that it makes a better book wrapper.

Well I am glad to see ~~THE~~ that the campaign is off ~~THE~~ with ~~THE~~ a bang and all the above is all so much unnecessary talk. I hope that you will be able to snare some help from Detroit so it wont be quite so lonely for you and will be much more profitable for the future of the Windsor branch. I believe some of the comrades are going to the Mid West camp. If Hugh gets his car he will probably be able to take a few of us down with him and drop us off to give you a hand.

By the way I gave a young contact that we picked up your name and address. His name is Norman Canning and he is a raw but militant member of the CSU. He is sailing on a cement carrier and expects to be in Windsor shortly. ~~THE~~ He is very honest and quite class concious. Has had no political experience but I believe has considerable respect for our ideas ~~THEMSELVES~~. Although he only knows our ideas thro me so it is too a large extent respect for me. He has purchased some of the most elementary pamphlets but has had little opportunity to read them yet.. I would characterize him as a honest trade union militant who has great possibilities of becoming a revolutionist. I know you could do a good job in helping his development. I hope he drops in on you at 375 Bridge...although he is a little shy of people.

We will be listing the Windsor score under the general title of Ontario. I hear Bert Cokeram is now in Detroit, powerful man isn't he. I am sure you have enjoyed his lectures.

Warmest regards and write when you can

all the best

(Bert Cochran)

Ross

May 30 1947

Dear Murray;

I suppose by now you have received the June issue of the paper and have noticed that we did not run the Immigration story.

When you wrote us for the Forum we decided that we had better do a condense job on the Fourth International Manifesto to the German workers. We had to leave my two stories over until the Monday as we had to get the last minute news on the labor laws and the Wage Coordinating Committee. If we had to send yours in at the same time on Monday morning we would have been terribly delayed with the paper as that would have made a hell of a pile of copy going in at the last moment.

Too bad that we did not publish it as the whole affair is now rising quite a storm but we can put it to good use in the next issue of the paper. I am sending it back to you just in case the CCF bureaucrats make some even more alarming statements and it would be worth while to revise it. Could we have it back by Monday June 9th.

Jean was quoted in tonights paper ~~as~~ BUP. Just a line on the fact that these polish girls had been taken from one concentration camp to another. I wonder if it would not be a good idea for Jean to make a policy statement calling for the opening up of the doors or is this all that they picked up of such a statement. Most of the trade union officials seem to be groping around for some formula. Some of them are for immigration but under government supervision with the immigrants getting union wages, etc. I am inclined to believe that our open door policy would strike a very favourable response and a whole campaign might develop out of it.

Don't be too critival of this issue of the paper. Ruth is on a short vacation in New York and she left before the paper went through the printers. I haven't noticed any mistakes as yet. She will be back Monday or Tuesday.

*from Montreal*

How is the siutation for money. I have only received \$100 in the two months of April and May and this mornings mail had a bill for 730 from Merchants. Have you been able to see Alice and Max...Jean only sent in \$20. Have had no further word on finances from Vancouver. Looks like I will have to arrange a loan on Monday or Tuesday as we have only a little over 100 in the bank right now.

Incidentally we have been informed that there is not going to be a Trotsky School at Grassy Lake this year. The SWP has decided to hold a one week Organizers Institute to be attended by party organizers, N.C. members and heads of National Office departments. It is being held August 17-23.

Ruth is enquiring as to how many we can have there

W  
armest regards

*Ros*